FBIS DAILY REPORT

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SIWAK, OTHERS AT WARSAW PZPR COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU221339 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Oct 81 p 5

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Oct (BTA) -- A plenum of the Warsaw PZPR Committee opened in the Polish capital on 13 October 1981. It was chaired by Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw city PZPR Committee. As reported by PAP, the Polish news agency, the plenum was attended by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Albin Siwak, Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee and by Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

A report was read by Jerzy Boleslawski, secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. It was noted in the report that the "Solidarity" congress has confirmed the policy of confrontation and of seizing political power instead of cooperation with the government being waged by this trade union. The program adopted by the congress contains numerous anticommunist statements directed against socialism and taking advantage of the authorities' shortcomings and of the lack of consistency and effectiveness in the authorities' actions, Boleslawski states in his report. The report further emphasizes the necessity of defending the party and of strengthening its unity, as well as the necessity of explaining the true goals of the counterrevolutionary leaders, who are standing behind "Solidarity", to the workers.

Boleslawski's report points out that the work of party members should be revised and that those who are unwilling to wage a political struggle must be deprived of their party membership documents. We cannot agree with the indeterminate stand of certain party cadres, the report states.

In the debates that followed the report, the participants in the plenum addressed critical remarks against the activities of the central party leadership. They reportedly pointed out that the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress are not being implemented by the party leadership, that the leadership has separated itself from the masses and that it has merely further removed, not thoroughly eliminated, the danger of counterrevolution. There is no unanimity among the party members and high-ranking party organs on how to resolve the political crisis. PAP points out that, in this connection, a proposal was submitted to the plenum to convene a national party conference. The plenum continues its work today.

BTA COMMENTS ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S 'LIMITED WAR'

AU231536 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Article by BTA observer Todor Stoyanov: "Two Worlds - Two Stands on the War"]

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA) -- Today the archaic rule, "If you want peace, get ready for war!" has been turned into a hypocritical dogma of the U.S. policy. Its modern version, "further armament and negotiations," which has committed NATO countries under the pressure of the United States, poses a particular threat to Europe" It makes armament sound realistic and negotiations relative.

This was quite incidentally disclosed by the very President of the United States. Risking to slip on the terrain of world diplomacy, with his recent words about a limited nuclear war on the old continent he revealed the truth which the White House has been jealously guarding behind layers of verbal fog.

Reagan's statement on a limited nuclear clash showed a tragic truth for Western Europe: Washington's "defence" of the allies is equal to the oblation of 400 million West Europeans!

The month of October has become the month of antimilitarist and anti-American ferment from the banks of the English Channel, the Baltic and the Rhein down to the Mediterranean Sea. A tumultuous stir of the masses angrily opposes the deployment of the "Cruise" and "Pershing" missiles in Western Europe, the growth of military budgets and increasing the war arsenals in the Western part of the continent. At the demonstration in Bonn -- the biggest one in West Germany after World War Two -- the protesters raised the slogan: "Reagan's peace is death for us."

The cruel truth is cruelly formulated, but this is inevitably the case with some diagnoses. At the recent sitting of the NATO nuclear planning group in Scotland the United States did not conceal its fear that the approach of the European governments to the growing neutralism would be rather furtive. Mrs Thatcher had tried to alleviate this impression by imparting to the meeting all but an appearance of hostilities of manoeuvres.

However, her efforts to suit to Washington's taste has widened the opening gap between the Western governments and the masses. Thus the stone-castle in Gleneagles behind thick walls of which the NATO defence ministers have hidden themselves from the people's eyes, has assumed the symbolic meaning of a farce for harmony between the ruling and the ruled.

Regarding Mr Reagan's statement on the possibility of a "limited nuclear war", Mr Ronald Hayward, Labour Party's secretary general, said that statements of this kind are only strengthening the party's determination to make efforts at turning the old continent into a nuclear-free zone. Under Mr Reagan's portrait, true to their straight language the demonstrators in Bonn held a slogan: "A man is walking on corpses!"

The mass' protest and new reasonable thoughts of politicians like Hayward and Brandt forces Mr Reagan to "explain" his words without changing the essence: At given circumstances the war cannot be considered impossible no matter how the American strategy of restraint may be described. Restraint from whom?

On October 20 Soviet leader Mr Leonid Brezhnev said that the question is that the States do not use nuclear weapons first.

Because if there is no first nuclear blow, there will be no second, nor third, and this cancels the nuclear war item from the agenda in general. Mr Brezhnev's words need no clarification -- neither today, nor tomorrow! Two worlds -- two stands on the war!

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S CANCUN SPEECH DRAWS COMMENT

AU230841 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0430 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] U.S. President Reagan has delivered a speech at the conference of the leaders of 22 capitalist and developing countries in Cancun, Mexico. In the speech, he set forth a series of conditions which, according to Washington, should be fulfilled before the United States agrees to begin any negotiations to narrow the economic gap between the developed capitalist and the developing countries. Reagan declared himself against the establishment of any new international organizations that would render assistance to the (?poor) countries and against any new economic systems. He again called on the developing countries to open their economies for foreign capital investments and private enterprise. This actually means a denial of any form of state control over the economy, full freedom for the international corporations and economic enslavement of the developing countries.

Reagan's speech aroused sharp criticism among the delegates and observers in Cancun. Even the BBC correspondent admitted that the U.S. President's speech was a beginning for bargaining rather than an open discussion of existing problems.

MILITARY DAILY CITED ON CANCUN CONFERENCE

AU241517 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 24 Oct 81

["A Nonresult Meeting" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA) -- Commenting on the meeting of the leaders from 22 countries in the Mexican city of Cancun, where the so-called "North-South" dialogue had to be revived, today's NARODNA ARMIYA stresses that the meeting has ended without success.

It is said in a signed article that the concept "dialogue North-South" is a component of the global strategy of modern imperialism, which is striving through a system of so-called "aids" and financial credits to block the way to an independent economic development of the newly liberated states.

The meeting failed to resolve the controversies between the developed capitalist countries and the developing states, says the daily, because the neocolonial exploitation of the natural and human resources of the "Third World" on the part of the foreign monopolistic capital and the transnational corporations is persisting. No meeting can even end in success unless the capitalist countries change basically their approach towards the developing countries by abandoning the policy of discrimination in the economic sphere and by abandoning the policy of rapaciously robbing the developing countries of their wealth, stresses NARODNA ARMIYA.

ECONOMIC TALKS HELD WITH YUGOSLAVIA'S ROTAR

Lukanov Receives Rotar

AU231506 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Metod Rotar, federal secretary of foreign trade of Yugoslavia, who is visiting Bulgaria. The meeting was attended by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and by Danilo Puric, SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Bulgaria.

Talks Summarized

AU231958 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA) -- In the eighth five-year period (1981-1985) the Bulgaro-Yugoslav trade is expected to amount on about 3 milliards and 100 million dollars. The mutual deliveries of machines will exceed 550 million dollars, of chemical products -- 700 million dollars, and of electronic and electrical engineering items -- 250 million dollars.

Mr Metod Rotar, the federal secretary of foreign trade of Yugoslavia, who is on a working visit here, was received today by Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy-chairman of the Minsterial Council of Bulgaria. At the ensuing talks bilateral economic relations were analyzed. Measures were outlined for the implementation of the long-term trade agreement operating between the two states, as well as for a number of other agreements. Underlined was the importance of the agreements on specialization between Bulgarian and Yugoslav companies.

The guest had also talks with Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria. The state of bilateral trade was discussed. Emphasized were the problems of specialization and industrial joint production, of the joint appearance on third markets.

Mr Metod Rotar also met the Bulgarian minister of mechanicl engineering and electronics, Mr Toncho Chakurov. The two ministers discussed the state and prospects of the cooperation in the branch. Some new forms of contacts in the branch were discussed.

The guest had talks with the Bulgarian minister of finance, Mr Belcho Belchev, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgaro-Yugoslav Commission for Economic, Trade and Techno-Scientific Ccoperation.

More on Talks

LD251013 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- Final talks on additional credit to be granted to the aluminum combine in Titograd by interested Bulgarian partners have ended in Sofia. Metod Rotar, federal secretary of foreign trade, and Khristo Khristov, Bulgarian minister of foreign trade, were present.

The additional credit of $40 million has been granted for completion of the second stage of the plant's construction. The aluminum combine entered into the long-term commitment to deliver aluminum and aluminum processed products. The conditions under which the credit was granted and the structure and the pace of deliveries were specified during the negotiations.

The delegations were led by Savo Lakic, administrative board chairman of the Titograd aluminum combine, and by Marin Marinov, Bulgarian deputy foreign trade minister.

MOZAMBIQUE MILITARY DELEGATION VISIT REPORTED

AU232109 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] A Mozambique military delegation, headed by Lt Gen Alberto Joaquim Chipande, member of the Frelimo Party Central Committee Permanent Political Committee, arrived in Bulgaria, at the invitation of army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of defense.

Later on, army Gen Dobri Dzhurov received the delegation. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere the two ministers briefed each other on the tasks which Bulgarian and Mozambique soldiers are presently facing.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, gave an official dinner tonight in honor of the Mozambique military delegation.

ZHIVKOV MAKES REPORT TO BULGARIAN ACTIVISTS

AU241500 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA) -- A national conference of party, state, economic and public activists was held here today.

A detailed report on some problems and tasks related to the implementation of the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party was read by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council.

Members and candidate-members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party took part in the conference as well as the secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and members of its standing committee, members of the State Council and the Ministerial Council and many other party and economic leaders, representatives of mass organisations.

The conference was also attended by representatives of the mass media and propaganda institutes.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

Western Countries Interfere

LD251240 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Petr Nemec commentary]

[Excerpt] The Fourth PZPR Central Comittee Plenum elected Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski to the top office in the party. This measure has caused a wave of speculation in the Western press; for example, is this perhaps a sign that the leading Polish bodies will more determinedly face the constant stream of demands and blackmail coming from the quarters of the so-called Solidarity? The PZPR Sejm Deputies Club has been enjoined to bring about a ban on strikes which are having such a devastating effect on the country. In the present situation such a decision must be approved by all sensible people. What, however, is Solidarity's answer? An appeal for 1-hour strikes to be held on Wednesday. Allegedly, these are so-called warning strikes. A warning? It is a provocation, looking for confrontation. The point is that appeals for further strikes just now when the country faces the forthcoming winter and there is a shortage of energy, a shortage of everything, amount to appeals for a jump into an economic abyss. But this is apparently just the thing Solidarity wants.

In assessing the 1-year history of Solidarity one can ask: Was not this organization, originally described as a trade union organization, set up from the very beginning as a political party? The list of its demands confirms that it has indeed been so. After all, in Western Europe Solidarity has always been looked upon as a political party. This is borne out by the emphasized pomp and officially surrounding the welcome given to Solidarity representatives by West European statesmen and by the flood of financial means boosting the union's funds which finance not only the expensive trips of officials but also The production of subversive materials attacking the government of a country with which West Euroean capitals maintain diplomatic contacts. This is nothing but open interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

Government's Statement Cited

LD251928 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (CTK) -- The Polish Government's Committee for Cooperation with Trade Unions today expressed most serious concern about "Solidarity's" decision to call a one-hour general strike for October 28, and about its further threats.

It stressed that the extremist forces inside "Solidarity" expose the Polish people to severe hardship in the interest of aims hostile to the socialist state. "Solidarity" is obstructing the realization of economic policy, thus seeking to create a situation of conflict, the committee said recalling various acts of sabotage incited by "Solidarity."

The committee's report categorically rejected claims by "Solidarity" leaders about alleged repression against this union and its functionaries. "Solidarity" has all possibilities to carry out trade union activity. However, the government cannot agree to any violation of laws which apply to everybody and must be respected. No state can tolerate anarchy, the report said, and added that the good will of the state bodies and their restraint have so far been considered the state's weakness and abused. Thus, in the interest of the Polish nation, this situation must be changed.

Any future talks between the government and "Solidarity" would lose any sense if strikes destroying the Polish economy continue, the report said, and stressed that all responsibility for the continuation of strikes rests with the extreme forces of the "Solidarity" leadership.

Solidarity Members Charged

LD252356 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] The Prosecutor General's Office of the Polish People's Republic announced in Warsaw today that the Chelm Presecutor's Office has charged six paid workers and members of the leadership of the Chelm Solidarity who, using a van of the so-called Solidarity, distributed in the town a large number of posters with false information, slandering the government and the state system of the Polish People's Republic. Two of the accused already have a criminal record.

The Bydgoszcz Voivodship Prosecutor's Office has charged Piotr Kruczynski, who transported brom Bydgoszcz to Warsaw -- for further distribution -- a large amount of printed matter of the illegal counterrevolutionary organization called the Union of National Liberation [Svaz Narodneho Oslobodenia]. The printed matter contained slanders and lies connected with the central organs and state system of the Polish People's Republic.

West To Play 'Polish Card'

LD241752 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 24 Oct 81

[News analyst Stefan Babiak commentary]

[Text] When contemplating the chief problems confronting Europe at present, the crisis in Poland comes immediately to the forefront of attention, and it would be a case of considerable inattention if, when discussing this problem, we were to ignore the links connecting the current crisis in Poland with the West. An analysis of the events in Poland indicates that, especially since the mid-1970's, the oft-proclaimed idea of the West's noninterference in the internal affairs of Poland is false, to put it bluntly. Nevertheless, this idea is constantly used by Western mass media along with the allegation concerning pressure to which Warsaw is exposed from the East. Both these ideas are designed to serve as a smokescreen for plans for the so-called Polish card harbored by Washington and its Atlantic allies.

In the mid-1970s, at the height of the Western anticommunist campaign connected with the search for the weakest link in the socialist community, Western ideologues were attracted by the situation in Poland. There were sufficient reasons for this and so, at a time when Zbigniew Brezezinski, one of the most relentless anticommunists, held a top post in the White House, Washington proceeded to put its plans into effect. There were calculations, as stated by the Polish magazine ZAGADNIENIA, that Poland's position among European socialist countries would be most vulnerable to Western campaigns due to its inefficient system of social and economic management.

Orchestrated by the CIA, the West launched its campaign to encourage what it called liberalization and pluralism in Poland's political life, a (?drive) which bore fruit in the shape of Jacek Kuron's KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] organization and other associations which at first masked their antisocialist ambitions but later came out into the open. This also provides an explanation for the seemingly paradoxical fact that it was the American monopoly capital, so ruthless when dealing with America's working class, which late last summer presented itself to the world as a defender and friend of Polish workers, as an advocate of Solidarity. The positions assumed by exponents of anticommunism within Solidarity provided great hope for their patrons in the West, promising that continued disruptive activities would bring yet more fruit. And, indeed, Poland's economic record during the year of the existence of Solidarity is genuinely catastrophic: an unprecedented drop in the country's national income, (?spiralling) inflation, serious breakdowns in key industries, unheard of difficulties in supplies, with the country's hands tied down by a $30-billion debt in the West.

All has been calculated to the effect that an economic collapse would be followed by political disruption with the aim of (?reverting) Poland to capitalist development and with the ultimate aim of changing the existing balance of forces in Europe. But whatever approach we take to assess the events in Poland, one thing is obvious -- namely that the resistance to the West's power game involving the fate of Poland should be as forceful and determined as the actions of the enemies of socialism. At the full session of the Polish United Workers' Party the Polish communists adopted their clear-cut resolution and approved changes in the leadership which would enable them to take the initiative in the drive to overcome the current crisis in the country. Protection of the vital interests of Poland's working people, the interests of the entire socialist community of states, as well as the necessity of preserving peace, security and stability in Europe, now call for resolute action on the part of the Polish party and state leadership.

Proposed Warning Strike Viewed

LD242312 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1830 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Richard Pokorny dispatch from Poland]

[Text] Next Wednesday, 28 October, at noon, all transport is to be brought to a standstill for an hour and production is to be halted for the same period throughout the country. The 1-hour general warning strike declared today by the national leadership of Solidarity in Gdansk is designed to force the government to take steps to improve the economic situation and moreover to halt what Solidarity leaders call the harrassment of those Solidarity officials who have become the target of what they say are repressive measures. Involved in this case are those people who have been quite justifiably accused of committing unlawful acts connected with the printing and distribution of anti-state publications. This the Solidarity leadership is unable to understand or rather it does not want to understand, for it regards these actions by the state as unpardonable and for this reason it has challended the state leadership to a specific confrontation next Wednesday.

Thus a situation has come about to which the government, in a statement published today, drew attention. The statement said, among other things, that if someone in Poland strives to provoke confrontation, which could end tragically, then it would only be Solidarity and its extremist representatives. This is why the government has taken such measures as for instance, setting up what are called operational groups in districts and in a number of localities. These groups, led by members of the Polish armed forces, should guarantee peace and order and should eliminate all flashpoints of tension. But, as the situation shows, a demonstration of dangerous ideals by Solidarity is to take place here on Wednesday 28 October at noon, which in this form is in danger of exploding into a conflict which might have unforseen consequences. What influence this action will have on the future development of events in the country no-one can perdict today.

Gdansk Resolution Viewed

LD242212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] The call for a so-called 1-hour protest strike in the entire country on 28 October, the blame for the present situation being laid upon PZPR and other gross pressure to set up some kind of a super-government, under the leadership of Solidarity, are the contents of a resolution adopted at a session of the coordination commission of the Solidarity in Gdansk.

The extreme forces within Solidarity have yet again openly attacked the socialist system and made another step towards confrontation with the people's power.

The support to organizers of anti-state and anti-Soviet actions and support to authors of publications with counterrevolutionary articles and appeals can leave no-one in doubt that the leaders of Solidarity are not interested in the everyday problems of working people but only on how to get in power.

The government press spokesman informed the Polish public about some measures directed at calming down the situation and among other things, setting up operational groups which will be employed in villages and specified towns. They will be headed by professional soldiers. Government delegates, who will cooperate with local bodies and report to the government all existing problems and shortcomings, will be sent to all areas. According to the press spokesman, because of the internal political threat the government has to use hard and decisive measures, among other things, when suppressing street provocations and when enforcing respect for the law.

Prague Phone-In Program

LD241524 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2055 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Phone-in program following panel discussion of recent developments in Poland, with Jan Lipavsky, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent; Pavel Kopecky, deputy chief editor of the main editorial office of International Life of Czechoslovak Radio and former radio correspondent in Warsaw; Zdenek Jirku, KVETY magazine editor, Milan Jelinek, former RUDE PRAVO Washington correspondent and present foreign-political commentator; and unidentified moderator]

[Excerpts] [Moderator] More than 300 viewers have already called today with their questions. In a number of cases, their questions either overlap or concern the same problem from a different angle. Before I give the floor to the debate's participants, I would like to read, on behalf of all, the opinion of Comrade Penicky, a viewer from Presov: The events and the deepening crisis in Poland sadden me, both as a party member and a citizen of a fraternal country. In my opinion, wherever party influence is ineffective, weak revisionism and opportunism immediately go to work to be finally followed by a counter-revolution. We have drawn an appropriate lesson from the period of 1968-1969 when there were more than enough "revivalists" and "improvers of socialism" in our country. I think that Poland can be led out of the crisis only if radical measures are taken against antisocialist forces and only if masses of workers are won over to the cause of socialism. I see no other alternative.

And now the questions. Comrade Urban, a viewer from Prague 10, has asked how much action the state bodies in Poland are capable of taking. Comrade Lipavsky?

[Lipavsky] I could answer this question approximately as follows: Above all as far as the economic crisis is concerned, the government, the Sejm and other state bodies have come up with many initiatives -- which regrettably have always been blocked by Solidarity -- in order to discredit the government in the eyes of the broad public or simply to block their initiatives. As far as the political area is concerned, I see that there are apparently two stages. In the first stage, it was conspicuously apparent that the antisocialist forces were tolerated in Poland. In the present period, especially after the recent session of the PZPR Central Committee, legal actions are being taken against those who have violated the law.

[Moderator] Thank you. Here we have a question from Comrade Novotna from Prague 2. Why doesn't the Polish Government explain to the striking workers that it is essentially the peasant class, which farms privately, that is incapable of feeding them? Why has 80 percent of the agriculture in Poland remained in private hands?

[Jirku] I cannot answer for the Polish Government why it does not explain the Polish farmers' attitude and I am sure that no one can ask me to do that. However, the fact remains that in addition to the common economic consequences of the failure to carry through the collectivation and socialization of the Polish agricultural sector, political consequences have manifested themselves. That is, the splitting of those two basic classes which should share in building and defending socialism. The situation in Poland is such that the working class essentially stands against the peasants. This conflict is naturally nurtured artificially and aggravated artificially by the church.

The practical situation is such that workers justifiably point to the lack of foodstuffs while the peasants speculate --trying at the same time to compel the government to make further concessions -- to win higher prices and so on. Thus, the class conflict is manifest there in this form. We have already discussed why this has happened in our discussion earlier this evening. Perhaps we ought to reiterate the fact that there was a failure in Poland to respect the objective laws governing the construction of a socialist society. That process has not been mastered and the situation in the Polish countryside has been unscientifically underestimated. The Polish leadership succumbed to the illusion that a private farmer would be capable of feeding a modern industrial country from scattered small holdings and fields only several hectares in size. This is the main reason.

Now we have a question from Comrade Balaban in Prague 6 who asks about the situation in the Polish media and the Polish intelligentsia's stand toward the counterrevolution in the country.

[Unidentified speaker] The situation in the Polish media continues to be very complicated. A section of the media, particularly those who have come to be dominated by the revisionists and right-wing opportunists -- people who simply flirt, as I said in the earlier part of our debate, with antisocialist forces -- have succumbed to their influence. I would say that they proceed from a false notion that a possibility of some kind of particularly Polish brand of socialism exists, even though we know very well that no particular brand exists and that there is only one sole socialism. In those media sections there are also a number of people who are under the influence of the existing leadership of the association of Polish Journalists. As we know, that group's chairman is Bratkowski. Mr Bratkowski, who was still Comrade Bratkowski yesterday was expelled from the party. This, too, is indicative of their attitude to the party leadership.

The situation in the media is one of the significant questions in resolving the Polish crisis. This is because masses of people continue to be under the influence of false demagogic slogans. Simply establishing correct views in the media on solving this crisis is, one can say, a question of great significance for the future development.

Here is a question from Comrade Machackova in Prague 6. Had it not been for the Soviet Union and the CEMA there would be hunger in Poland. But Jelinek said that America materially supports Poland. Therefore what is the situation? Comrade Machackova apparently has in mind some legacy, albeit I think a distorted one, from the previous debate.

[Unidentified speaker] I shall deal with the first part of the question and Milan Jelinek will surely amplify it later. Naturally, the aid of the Soviet Union and all CEMA countries is important to the current Polish economy. No one need have any doubt about this. When we covered the Solidarity congress in Poland I saw television reports about the first very quick deliveries, of Soviet cotton for example, already from this year's crop. The Soviet Union and all of the socialist countries are helping Poland in an important way. Naturally, neither the Soviet Union nor any other socialist country can master Poland's fundamental economic problems. We cannot. That is, neither the Soviet Union nor Czechoslovakia can produce for Poland. Therefore, on this level the material assistance of the socialist countries is expressed by enormous credit that the Soviet Union has extended to Poland during the past, a dollar credit, which will enable Poland to operate financially in Western markets.

[Jelinek] The other part of the question: The United States provides a different material assistance, not to Poland but to Solidarity. And they will want a return for such is the principle of capitalism and the mercantile attitude of the Western bourgeoisie. They have not spent their money for nothing. They are not providing money in order to save socialism in Poland or in order to regenerate it or anything like this, or to find a way out of the crisis or to help the Polish people: They are providing money and material assistance to those who are harming socialism and who want to reverse the development. In this connection one interesting question emerges: What does the United States supply to Poland?

Above all, what sort of aid do the American trade unions send: Transmitters, printing presses -- they bought television equipment for Solidarity, a whole modern television station -- copying equipment; everything miniaturized, small, easily portable.

Comrade Lipavsky was telling us that Walesa was complaining at the Solidarity congress that stealing goes on in Solidarity, that dollars and other currencies as well as equipment disappear; they are stolen or sold on the black market. But by this lamentation about the moral state of Solidarity where the leaders and officials are enriching themselves, he admitted the contents of this Western help to Poland. This help is expressed not in some kind of foodstuffs, such as that given by the socialist countries, but in things like transmitters, office equipment, copying machines, brochures, paper and the like.

[Moderator] We will now come to another problem. The following two questions are closely linked. A viewer asks I am sorry that Polish citizens trampled underfoot the graves of Soviet soldiers; will they be punished for this? Another viewer from Ostrava asks why anti-Sovietism is so strong in Poland when the Polish nation owes its existance solely to the Soviet Union?

[Unidentified speaker] Well, this is a sad truth. More than 600,000 Soviet soldiers fell in Poland. Had it not been for the Soviet Army Hitler would have committed genocide and exterminated the Polish nation. Some extremists from Solidarity and from the circles close to Solidarity, the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR], that is, from that antistate organization led by Kuron, in effect are provocative in their utterances, in their rabid anti-Sovietism, and they have their allies in individual voivodships, that is, in the regional Solidarity organizations such as, for instance, in Mr Rulewski from Bydgoscz who quite openly on the Solidarity congress platform which can be termed more precisely as a rally [sraz] because mafia-type crude methods were applied there, this Mr Rulewski shouts quite unequivocally for the whole world to hear and accompanied by thunderous applause that it is necessary to tear oneself, as he literally put it, from the Polish allies, which means above all from the Soviet Union, and should this happen he would dance a Cossack dance with happiness.

This influence of anti-Soviet propaganda has naturally had its reflection above all among young people, inexperienced people who simply did not experience this war, who do not know the sufferings of war, who simply do not know the value of what was done by the Soviet Union for Poland. It is under the influence, often within the individual families, that the defamation of Soviet graves and war monuments is taking place. [as heard] The government has lately taken action against such elements, puts them before courts and sentences them. Regrettably, despite all this these incidents continue.

[Moderator] Here is a specific question addressed to Comrade Jelinek. It says: what is the U.S. attitude toward the situation in Poland following the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum?

[Jelinek] Not much has changed. The American position is long-term and permanent. The U.S. stance has not changed. It is a permanent position. Judging from official utterances of the press spokesman of the State Department and of other American representatives, they see the situation as follows: They believe that they have the right, they assume the right to prescribe to the Polish authorities, as they say, or the government, how it should proceed and warn it continuously against measures that would be inappropriate and bad. They interfere quite openly and at this level officially in Polish affairs. They say: If you do this or that, we will not like it and we will take this or that measure. The height of this impertinence was a resolution of the House of Representatives, which forms part of the U.S. legislative body, which deals with this question and which also warned the Polish authorities and Polish Government not to dare to carry out measures which United States would not like. At the level of a legislative body this is inordinate, for it amounts to the negation of Polish sovereignty and denial of the country's independence as well as the assumption of the right to advise and determine for the country what it ought to do and what it ought not to do as if it were a mere colony or semi-colony.

[Moderator] The following question was put forward by students from a health service school from Frydek-Misten, and a similar question was asked by Comrade Marecek from Brno, Comrade Beranek from Most and very many other viewers. They say that where there exists a strong church there cannot exist a strong socialist order. They would be interested to know why the PZPR Central Committee paid so little attention in the past to ideological work and ideological and atheist propaganda? Maybe Comrade Lipavsky, you could answer it.

[Lipavsky] Where there is a strong church? I do not want to correct the viewers but in my judgement "strong church" is very dubious. In socialist states of the Marxist-Leninist type where relations between the church and state are adjusted by law the church has its own field of operation strictly limited. The Polish Episcopate, which represents the church in Poland not only exceeds the limits set by the law but it often assumes the role of the school, the role of state bodies of which there exists a whole body of evidence with church dignitaries acting virtually as state officials. They become or want to be some kind of arbiters in conflict situations in which Polish society has found itself. Atheist education in Poland has been neglected for many years. This has resulted in strong church feeling and in the strengthening of the church's position vis-a-vis the state, that is, in a conflict which is a permanent conflict between the church philosoply and the official state philosophy. This conflict is manifested in many aspects esepcially in that the sphere of influence of the state has narrowed to the benefit of the church.

[Moderator] The following three questions, too, have a common denominator. Comrade Bayer from Nitra, like Comrade Parizek from Prague District 9 and Comrade Valasek from Prague District 10, has asked how the present situation is being viewed in the Polish Army, Comrade Simorekova from Prague District 4 has asked whether the government in Poland can rely on the army, and Comrade Tomanek from Ostrava has asked to what extent has Solidarity penetrated the army and security service? To which I would only add that attempts by Solidarity to penetrate the army and the security service have certainly taken place. But I believe firmly, as we all do, that these attempts will continue to be unsuccessful and that it is not fortuitous that the army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in a period that has been critical for the Polish press, has become a kind of real bastion of people, loyal communists. Does anyone want to say more about this?

[Unidentified Speaker] I think that the whole question has been answered quite satisfactorily and I have nothing to add.

[Moderator] So that the situation in the Polish Army is very good.

[Unidentified Speaker] I think that it is the party Central Committee and State Council which must assess correctly the situation in the Polish Army. As far as we journalists accredited to the Polish People's Republic can judge, the Polish People's Army organ ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI pursues a Marxist-Leninist line.

[Lipavsky] The basic question is: Why, after all, has all this, that we discussed this evening, happened in Poland? No doubt, there are a number of reasons. I think personally that the main reason lay in the fact that the former leadership committed a whole range of mistakes -- as was, indeed, noted by the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PZPR. The greatest mistake was the huge indebtedness of the Polish economy to the West. And we know that the West does not give socialism something for nothing, that a certain dependence results when indebtedness reaches the extent which it did in Poland. This dependence was also linked with a certain other dependence, or rather with certain ideological and political concessions, which we discussed in the first part of our meeting. This also made possible the formation of opposition groups, in fact, counterrevolutionary groups, such as KOR Moczulski's Confederation [for an Independent Poland] and so on and so on.

There is no doubt that the pope's visit helped to create all that climate after 1978. In fact the visit mobilized all the centrifugal forces which exist in Poland against the people's power.

This, so to speak, gave courage to those centrifugal forces (?which organized) opposition groups of an antipeople's character, of an antisocialist character.

At this point one, naturally, should add: Why is it possible that something like that could happen at all? One should, perhaps, stress that in Poland, through all the years, the socialist revolution has never been carried through to the end, either in the base or in the superstructure. Viewers who follow events in Poland will confirm it when I say that there existed some sort of coexistence between Marxism-Leninism and other ideologies. These ideologies were often of a petty bourgeois character, of a bourgeois orgin. This is merely the result of the fact that, all these years, ideological education has been underestimated, a fact which we have also discussed. This was revealed in the forming of Solidarity above all, in its political line and so on.

Furthermore, at the same time the party, confronted with this conflict situation, was not sufficiently perpared for these conflict situations. Partly because violations of norms of intraparty life were occuring. If the party was not prepared for it, as a vanguard of society, then it is quite logical that some of the working class represented by that vanguard lacked the necessary revolutionary weapons for possible conflicts -- a fact with which we must always take into account. One could perhaps also mention that the present-day leadership -- or in other words; that after the start of the new leadership, we all witnessed the fact that in the party leadership and in the party Central Committee there occurred various compromises as regards the dangers which immediately threatened Poland. There were obvious concessions of various kinds made throughout the whole period of more than a year to the counterrevolutionary forces which are being exposed as a special threat to the existence of the socialist system -- concessions and compromises which often, so to speak, were covered by the well-known thesis of the line of understanding. For the Marxists, however the basic question is always: Who with whom, and on what to agree? It is impossible to assert that it is possible to agree with Mr Rulewski, who is a clear-cut antisocialist and anticommunist. It is out of the question. Such a line of agreements can also be seen as a line of agreements with people who stand on a platform of counterrevolution.

So what did it mean? It meant in fact a surrender of positions to the class enemy throughout the whole period. I would like to add another cause. In my view, the leadership of Solidarity is mainly responsible for the entire situation we are discussing. It abused the trust of the workers, abused the trust of a considerable portion of the working class, and it proved itself to be a destructive and obstructive force against everything which is progressive, everything which represents the people's power. It stood for the destruction of the organs of the PZPR and the Central Committee of the party and it resulted in the blocking of the initiatives of the organs of people's power, ranging from the Sejm to national councils in individual voivodships.

[Words indistinct] into chaos and we have witnessed the worst possible happening in Poland, namely a decline in the authority of the party. The only answer in such a state of affairs -- so as not to end on a pessimistic note -- and this is the hope of not only our people, which I can verify, but of all people in all socialist countries and the whole progressive world, is that the party of Polish communists has enough sound forces of its own, and the Polish society has enough capable people, experienced people, who will say "no" to countrerevolution.

Olszowski on Plenum Results

AU231120 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Oct 81 p 7

[CTK Warsaw dispatch: "Urgent Need for Public Calm and Order: Stefan Olszowski on the Results of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum"; capitalized passages published in boldface.]

[Text] Warsaw (CTK) -- On Tuesday, at a meeting with journalists from socialist countries in Warsaw, Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, spoke about the course and the results of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee session.

He said that this meeting was of historical significance from the viewpoint of the adopted resolutions and the election of Wojciech Jaruzelski as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. His name is a symbol of the struggle for independence and the shaping of the socialist character of Poland. The election of W. Jaruzelski as well as the documents of the session are favorably received in the entire party. In this connection, S. Olszowski expressed thanks for the congratulations to W. Jaruzelski of the leading representatives of the socialist countries' communist parties which the PZPR leadership perceives as a manifestation of brotherhood and a harbinger of a further promotion of friendship and cooperation.

The fourth plenum dealt critically with the deepening economic, political and social crisis and set concrete tasks for overcoming it. IT STATED THAT THE CONSOLIDATION OF PARTY RANKS ON THE BASIS OF THE PARTY STATUTES AND PROGRAM IS THE MAIN PREREQUISITE FOR FULFILLING THEM. The PZPR Central Committee secretary stressed that the leading party and state bodies should be in the front ranks of the struggle against counterrevolutionary forces, a struggle imposed on them by the adversary.

The Central Committee assumed a very critical position on "Solidarity," whose leadership is trying to transform into an opposition political organization. The plenum unequivocally condemned the methods of pressure put on the working people, which "Solidarity" introduced into Polish life. These methods were called by their right name at the session. The Central Committee noted that "Solidarity" unilaterally violated the social agreements and that it would like to exercise diktat over the entire society. That is why for the first time the Central Committee submitted to "Solidarity" a whole complex of demands that are in the nature of ultimatums. Should the trade union fail to meet them, should it fail to dissociate itself from the rightwing forces that had grouped around its leadership and go over to destruction, in the near or more distant future it would have to cease to exist.

In view of the urgent need for public calm and order, S. Olszowski went on to say, the Central Committee authorized the highest party and state bodies to use their constitutional powers in the event of threat to the national existence, in the event of greatest need. THIS COULD ALSO MEAN, WHEN CONSIDERED INEVITABLE, THE DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY WITH ALL ITS ATTENDANT CONSEQUENCES. THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY CALLED THIS A VERY CRUCIAL AND SERIOUS POINT OF THE RESOLUTION.

He further said that the party reaffirmed the line of agreement and dialogue, and put forward a proposal for establishing a broad front of national unity of all forces that are not against socialism.

HOWEVER, THIS CONCEPT HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE IDEA OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT, NOR COMPLETE OPENESS TOWARD VARIOUS OPPOSITION FORCES, AS THIS IS INTERPRETED BY SOME PEOPLE, S. Olszowski stressed.

HE FURTHER SPOKE ABOUT THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S APPEAL TO THE WORKERS CLASS TO SURRENDER THE WORK-FREE SATURDAYS DURING THE WINTER WHEREVER THERE ARE CONDITIONS FOR PRODUCTIVE WORK, ESPECIALLY IN THE EXTRACTION OF COAL AND OTHER RAW MATERIALS. HE SAID THAT A LIST OF ENTERPRISES THAT SHOULD WORK ON SATURDAYS WILL BE COMPILED. He also stated the PZPR deputies' task to table a motion in the Sejm, requesting suspension of the right to strike. "We expect this to be a controversial issue. 'Solidarity' will be resolutely opposed and must meet with the appropriate resistance on our part," he said. He also mentioned that in some party organizations party members who had joined "Solidarity" are beginning to terminate their membership in that organization, according to the example set by Zofia Grzyb and other PZPR Central Committee members.

The PZPR Central Committee secretary further spoke about some plans in the party's ideological work. He stressed, among other things, that the leadership will strive to improve the work of mass information media. HE CALLED THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ASSOCIATION OF POLISH JOURNALISTS A FACTOR THAT COMPLICATES THE WORK IN THIS DIRECTION. However, certain steps have already been taken in this respect, such as the expulsion of Stefan Bratkowski from the PZPR. He said that this has evoked protest among some journalists, which he described as polarization among journalists. "EVERYWHERE THAT PARTY STATUTES AND PROGRAM ARE NOT ADHERED TO, WE WILL TAKE HARSH AND RESOLUTE STEPS," he stressed.

THE PARTY LEADERSHIP WILL ALSO FOCUS ON PARTY EDUCATION AND OTHER FORMS OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK. In the course of this year it will organize a countrywide ideological conference. We want, S. Olszowski said, to develop the broadest possible information campaign immediately after the fourth session that would carry its results to all workplaces so that they can begin to implement them as soon as possible. This will also be the objective of several trips by Politburo members throughout the Polish People's Republic.

URO Official on Solidartiy

AU231800 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Oct 81 p 2

[V. Klement's interview with Vilia[illegible] Kozik, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions: "Our Trade Unions' International Activity is Growing"; place and date of interview not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] A few days ago you took part in a meeting between a Central Council of Trade Unions [URO] delegation and a delegation of the National Cooperation Commission of the Polish Industrial Branch Trade Unions. Can you tell us something about cooperation between URO and this national commission?

[Answer] "Cooperation with the National Cooperation Commission of the Polish Industrial Branch Trade Unions, with which we share a common class and ideological base as well as common goals, is developing very successfully. We noted at this meeting, which took place in Ostrava, that cooperation between the two organizations is developing successfully also along the line of individual trade unions and is beginning to develop even between regions and enterprises. Above all, I would like to convey the national commission's thanks to all our trade union functionaries who received with understanding Polish children in the revolutionary trade union movement's summer camps. The degree of cooperation achieved so far is multifaceted, and it is constantly being enriched by new forms."

[Question] The leaders of so-called "Solidarity" demagogically declared in connection with its congress that they had sent invitations also to trade unions of the other socialist countries, and now they are creating an uproar because these trade union federations did not take part in the congress. What can you say about it?

[Answer] "The leaders of so-called 'Solidarity' must vindicate themselves somehow before upright working people, who condemn 'Solidarity's' subversive activity, and before progressive world public opinion. While they had sent invitations several weeks before the get-together was to take place to the American AFL-CIO, the MKSO [expansion unknown] and other similar "allied" organizations, URO -- if I am to speak about us -- received the invitation at the last moment, immediately before the opening, which proves that in reality they were not interested in the participation of representatives of trade union federations from socialist countries. Leaving aside the fact that such an approach is unusual in international trade union contacts, to say the least, its actual purpose was revealed by the leaders of the so-called 'Solidarity' themselves, in the unprecedented, outrageous pamphlet calling on the working people of the socialist countries to follow their example. This is blatant interference in our trade union affairs and an underestimation of the political maturity of our working people, who have their own experience and have convinced themselves that their strength rests in the unity of trade unions, trade unions that struggle for the development of the socialist society. Indeed, it is nothing but an attempt to export counterrevolution, as it has been rightly called.

Proceeding from the aforementioned facts and, moreover, taking into account the unambiguously antisocialist character of the congress and the documents adopted there, it is absolutely unacceptable for us to take part in the congress of an organization that pursues reactionary goals.

What would our members say if we took part in the congress of an organization whose leadership systematically rejects constructive programs and demonstrates in its everyday activity that its program is one of destruction, of destabilizing the socialist social system, which causes profound damage to the interests of the Polish working people and their socialist gains. This fact is being more and more strongly realized by a considerable part of the Polish working people, not only in the branch trade unions but also outside them, who view the elimination of the accumulated shortcomings and the reinforcement of the values of socialism as the fundamental way out of the cirtical situation. We display full solidarity with those forces, they enjoy our support and we are developing fruitful cooperation with them.

USSR'S ALEKSEY SHITIKOV VISIT CONTINUES

Addresses Prague Seminar

AU231324 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[CTK reports: "Cordial, Comradely Talks; on Comrade A. Shitikov's stay in Czechoslovakia"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday, in the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Prague, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society and other organizations organized a seminar on current problems of the struggle for peace and European security in light of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The seminar, which was attended by leading representatives of the CSSR Federal Assembly, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front and the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, was addressed by A. Shitikov, CPSU Central Committee member, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

In the opening part of his speech, he spoke about the intensification and promotion of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and about the mutual cooperation of socialist countries, which is an important stablizing factor in the international political situation on the European continent.

He then analyzed in detail postwar developments in Europe, especially from the viewpoint of the United States' and NATO states' strategic concepts directed against the Soviet Union and its allies. However, the consistent peace policy of the socialist community countries and their political, economic and military strength have always prevented the implementation of the reactionary forces' plans.

But peace continues to be in jeopardy, Comrade A. Shitikov stressed, especially as a result of the adventurous aggressive policy of the United States, whose representatives keep brandishing the argument about the "Soviet threat," which has recently again drawn mankind closer to military conflict. The steep growth in military expenditures, the decision to deploy new missiles in Europe and to produce the neutron bomb and other attempts by the Reagan administration to gain military supremacy over the Soviet Union represent a grave threat to a life in peace in our planet.

Comrade A. Shitikov contrasted this with the patient and throughtful policy of the Soviet Union, which constantly puts forward proposals for solving all problems by means of negotiation, limiting the feverish pursuit of arms, reducing the number of troops and equipment in central Europe and other peace initiatives, many of which resounded precisely from the podium of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Bohemia Visit Ends

LD241246 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2300 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The delegation of the Soviet Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe, led by Aleksey Shitikov, who is the delegation chairman and chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ended its visit in the south Bohemian region yesterday.

The guests visited south Bohemian fishermen and talked with representatives of the Socialist Labor Brigades. They also learned about the labor results of the south Bohemian state forests and visited the cultural and historical monuments at Hluboka and Vlatvou.

Shitikov Delegation Departs

LD241256 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] The delegation of the Soviet Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe, led by Aleksey Shitikov, the delegation's chairman and chairman of Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ended its visit to Czechoslovakia today. The delegation was seen off at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe; Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Central Commiteee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; and others.

In a joint communique, representatives of the two committees condemned the new doctrine of the U.S. administration on a so-called limited nuclear war, the NATO plans to deploy new American nuclear medium-range missiles on the territory of a number of West European states, and the U.S. administration's decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, MX strategic missiles and B-1 bombers.

SCIENCE COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH BULGARIA

LD251030 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Two-day talks between Ladizlav Supka, federal minister of technological and investment promotion, and Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Committee for Science and Technical progress, ended in Prague with the signing of a protocol. Both officials examined scientific and technical cooperation between both countries during the past 5 years as well as the elaboration of a program for scientific and technical cooperation for the period of 1981-85. At the same time a protocol was signed in Prague in the wake of the 10th session the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Commission for Scientific and Technical Cooperation, which discussed a programme for scientific and technical cooperation for the period of 1981-85.

CIVIL RIGHTS MILITANT JAILED FOR 3 YEARS

NC241441 Paris AFP in English 1233 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 24 Oct (AFP) -- Czechoslovak civil rights militant Jan Litomisky was sentenced yesterday to three years in prison plus two years' house arrest by a court at Ceske Budejovice, capital of the Bohemian region, dissident sources said here today.

Prominent in the civil rights movement VONS (Committee for the Defense of Persons Unjustly Prosecuted), Mr Litomisky, a 38-year old agricultural expert was arrested in February and charged with "subversive activities" -- among them holding VONS meetings at his home and giving unapproved courses in philosophy and theology.

The court building was heavily guarded during the trial, the sources said.

In July VONS militants Rudolf Battek and Jiri Gruntorad were sentenced in Prague to jail terms of seven and a half years and four years respectively, plus three years' house arrest. On appeal Mr Battek's sentence was reduced by two years.

Four other VONS members, Petr Uhl, Vaclav Havel, Vaclav Benda, and Jiri Diestbier were jailed in May 1979 for terms of between three and five years, while VONS militants Jiri and Jan Ruml were jailed last May along with seven other people after the expulsion of two French nationals who were accused of bringing "subversive material" into Czechoslovakia.

An eighth member of the group, the poet Jaromir Horec, was freed recently after having made a detailed "confession", the sources said.

MSZMP CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING COMMUNIQUE

LD232100 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Communique on the MSZMP Central Committee meeting held in Budapest on 22 October]

[Text] The communique on yesterday's session of the Central Committee has been published. The session debated and approved the report submitted by the Central Committee secretary, Andras Gyenes, on topical international issues, and the guidelines on housing construction, maintenance, management and distribution, submitted by Lajos Faluvegi, Central Committee member and deputy premier.

The Central Committee surveyed topical international issues and the foreign political activity of party and state organs since the last session. The Central Committee pointed out that the imperialists and their followers aim to offset the military balance of power and to increase the arms race which continues poisoning the international atmosphere and endangers world peace. The Hungarian people, together with the peace-loving forces of the world, are interested in the fight for the preservation and strengthening of the achievements of detente, for a reduction in the danger of nuclear war, and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe and in the world so that a new round of the arms race should not take place and so that the disputed international issues should be settled by way of negotiation.

From the point of view of the preservation of world peace and the strengthening of international security, the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States has a decisive significance. Hungarian public opinion welcomes the revival of Soviet-American dialogue, and the agreement on starting negotiations on the question of medium-range nuclear missiles.

The Central Committee stressed that in our world, burdened with dangerous conflicts and tension, there is an indispensable need for an active stand by every responsible political factor and peace-loving force for the preservation of the achievements of detente. The Hungarian People's Republic is willing to take further initiatives and endeavors in the interests of strengthening and deepening the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The Central Committee attributed great importance to the active stand taken by the masses against the missile deployment plans of NATO and the mad idea of a limited nuclear war in Europe. Our people are in solidarity with the movements against the arms race and the increasing danger of war. Led by a responsible will to act on behalf of the fate of Europe and the world, joint action by the various social classes, strata and various political movements and other organizations represents an important contribution to securing the peaceful future of mankind.

The Hungarian People's Republic expresses the wish that the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will be successful. Our government is consistently endeavoring to ensure the conference will contribute to the preservation of the process which began in Helsinki and to its further development. With the help of the responsible and flexible conduct of the delegations of the participating states and through sensible compromises, a successful conclusion to the conference can be ensured, and agreement can be reached on convening a conference on European disarmament and military detente, as well as on further measures serving the implementation of the recommendations contained in the Helsinki Final Act.

The Central Committee expressed its appreciation of the importance of the talks which Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, held with party leaders of the socialist countries in the Crimea; underlined the signifiance of the increased utilization of the potentials existing in the sphere of cooperation between countries of the socialist community and the further strengthening of political and economic relations; expressed agreement with the results of the discussions between Janos Kadar and Leonid Brezhnev; and stressed the need for the multifaceted development of fraternal Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Hungarian communists, our working people, are filled with growing anxiety over the way the extreme forces in Poland are acting ever more openly against the economic and political fundamentals of socialist society in their endeavors to gain power. Their proclaimed program and actions are undermining the constitutional order of the Polish People's Republic and its achievements, are contrary to the interests of the Polish people, weaken the unity and cooperation of the socialist community and endanger the balance of forces and the peace of the European Continent.

Our Central Committee, in unison with the statements of the Polish party leadership, considers that only action and a consistent stand can bar the way of counterrevolution and lead to the socialist consolidation of Polish society. The Polish adherents of socialism in their struggle for the defense of people's power can firmly count on the fraternal, internationalist support of the Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people among the international forces of socialism and progress.

Every responsible political factor in international life must take as its point of departure that the interests of the peoples and of peace demand that Poland should not be a source of increasing international tension but a force for stability in Europe.

The Hungarian People's Republic, in line with the policy of peaceful coexistence, continues to endeavor to develop cooperation with countries with different social systems, both in Europe and beyond the continent. The Central Committee reaffirmed the solidarity of our country and people with the developing countries struggling to strengthen their national independence and social progress and against imperialism.

In the spirit of internationalist solidarity and comradely cooperation, the MSZMP cultivates and develops its relations with the communist parties. In the interests of advancing the common interests of the international working class, and the cause of detente and disarmament, the MSZMP is endeavoring to extend relations with the socialist and social democratic parties.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers reviewed the housing construction situation and adopted a standpoint concerning the questions of development in housing construction, maintenance, management and development.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers stated that housing construction and management developed during the past decade in accordance with the joint resolution of 1970. The house construction rate has exceeded that of most European countries; in the course of 10 years the stock of dwellings has increased by 31 percent; the proportion of housing with full modern facilities and services has doubled. In 1970 only every 10th dwelling had 3 or more rooms, while at present it is 1 in every 4 dwellings. The level of equipment in dwellings has significantly improved. Almost 3 million people moved into modern, new homes. The proportion of those with their own dwellings has increased, the density of occupation has moderated. In 1970 there were approximately 200 people per 100 rooms -- in 1980 it was 150.

Of the 1.2 million new dwellings prescribed in the second 15-year housing construction program, 453,000 were completed during the Fifth 5-Year Plan period and 75,000 council dwellings were renovated. Renovation has been given a greater role than earlier. Its rate will further increase in the coming period. The 15-year housing construction plan is being realized pro rata and its goals can be attained.

Despite the significant achievements, there are still tensions in the housing construction and distribution sector. Many just claims for housing have proved impossible to meet, due in particular to the increase in the proportion of one-person and small households, and the move into the towns and cities, thus meaning more people require independent dwellings. In line with socioeconomic development and the improvement in living standards, demands for higher quality and larger dwellings have strengthened.

The exchange of dwellings plays a less significant role than it could play in meeting existing needs.

Contributions by different groups of the population to the costs of housing construction and maintenance are unjustifiably divergent.

The Central Commitee and the Council of Ministers regard further endeavors as necessary for an improvement of housing conditions. Strengthening the well-proven principles of housing policy, there is a need for the further development of the system of housing receive independent dwellings within a foreseeable time. The principle of gradualism should be manifested in meeting claims. The population must be made more interested in organizing the construction of their own dwellings. It is justified that state support for the acquisition of dwellings and for the maintenance of dwellings should depend increasingly on the social, income and wealth circumstances of the families. With the better mobilization of the financial resources of the population, the burden must be made more equal between the state and the population and between different groups of the population. At present, rents cover only the smaller proportion of the costs of housing maintenance and renovation and consequently rents must be gradually increased, with due consideration for our standard of living and social policies, in order that rents should cover the cost of the maintenance of the dwellings.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers regard it as necessary that the guidelines for housing construction, maintenance, management and development should be discussed by the social and state organs most affected, and which are requested to participate in the discussions, by mid-February 1982. They are to forward their observations and recommendations to the Council of Ministers. The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers will finalize the guidelines, taking the experiences of the discussions into consideration.

PZPR'S GRZYB INTERVIEWED ON QUITTING SOLIDARITY

LD241724 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Interview with Zofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Politburo, at her place of work in Radom, by correspondent Gabor Nemes; from the '168 Hours Political Magazine' program; date not given -- recorded, with Grzyb answers in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Gabor Nemes has interviewed Mrs. Grzyb, the member of the PZPR Politburo who recently announced that she had left Solidarity, at her place of work.

[Question] When I spoke to Mrs. Grzyb, who besides her political function is also a brigade leader at the Radom leather factory, I first of all asked her why she came to this decision and why at this particular time.

[Answer] My leaving Solidarity was not in the least unexpected. I had already said in August, at the Second Central Committee Plenum, what my expectations were of Solidarity, the trade union which I had joined. Then I followed the first congress of Solidarity and it became apparent that for me, party member for 34 years, this was not a trade union but an opposition party. I had to make a decision where I belonged. After all, at the Gdansk congress of Solidarity, the party was being reviled. I expected that a stand would be taken at the congress in Gdansk against this, but finally the direction which the debate took and the resolutions which were approved did not meet my expectations. The best example of this is the appeal issued to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

These are, therefore, the reasons which prompted me to leave Solidarity. After all, I had already said earlier that the members of the party would have to struggle to make Solidarity into a trade union. Since the situation did not develop this way, I, as a member of the central organ of the party, could not have remained a member of Solidarity any longer.

[Question] However, the majority of those Central Committee members who also belong to Solidarity have not, so far, left it. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] It is my opinion that they also must choose and this is something which they themselves must decide.

[Question] And what should the 1 million ordinary party members, who are also members of Solidarity, do? Should they also leave Solidarity?

[Answer] Party members, whatever other organizations they belong to, must remain first and foremost members of the party. If they feel themselves party members in the factories, the trade union or wherever, if they defend the party against attacks, take a stand against antiparty propaganda and defend the decent peoples, they then can remain members of Solidarity and of the party as well. On the other had, if this is not what they do, if they tolerate the attacks, then for them there is no place in our party.

[Question] Many people ask in connection with the decision by party members to leave Solidarity: Does not the party thereby give up the chance of influencing the membership of Solidarity, which number 9 and 1/2 million?

[Answer] In my opinion, no. We must get to the point where the state of division between those who are members of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and those in Solidarity ceases. People work together, side by side, in the factories, independently of which trade union they belong to. Thus the party, or to be more precise, the party membership, can also exert a cerain influence independently of whether they belong to Solidarity or not.

[Question] What did your immediate colleagues, your own brigade at the leather factory, say when they found out that you had left Solidarity?

[Answer] They reacted in various ways. The majority evaluated my step positively. There is, however, a small group which believes that I should not have left Solidarity. After all, at our factory, Solidarity is endeavoring to help the workers in the present difficult situation. It wants to function as a genuine trade union, even if it does not succeed in doing so in every respect. Look, I left Solidarity primarily because of its national and regional policies. If we were to look only at this factory, there would be no particular problem. Here I could have remained a member.

[Question] The (?situation) is one of crisis. What do you think? What will happen in Poland? Do you see any solution, a way out?

[Answer] The resolution of the Central Committee Fourth Plenum refers to the front of national unity, to the fact that everyone to whom socialist Poland is dear, for whom our international links are important, should sit down at a table in order to reach a mutual understanding. Everyone has a place there, the trade unions, the existing parties, those outside the parties and the church as well. We must neogtiate with each other. After all, if this does not occur, who knows what might happen? This is very important and an agreement must be reached because there is no other solution.

GOVERNMENT SESSION DECREES USE OF MILITARY

Urban Statement

LD232102 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Statement by Polish Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban -- live in the studio]

[Text] The Government Presidium held debates today under the chairmanship of Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

During the debates the current situation in the country was discussed and evaluated. The situation is very serious. Tension is continuing and even intensifying in places. Local conflicts and incidents appear as well as street occurences and demonstrations, all of which is extremely dangerous.

All this gives the impression that some elements of Solidarity aim to provoke a sort of trial of strength with the authorities. Part of the Solidarity activists do not conceal their distinct intention to carry out a coup attempt against the socialist statehood.

The incitement of social tensions leads to (?considerable) production losses, which aggravate the shortage of goods in the stores. It also disturbs the calm of the citizens, who are tired enough with standing in lines and with the difficulties in obtaining basic necessities.

The government confirms the readiness to construct a platform for national accord on the basis of the socialist political order and the principles of the Polish Constitution. The government summons to a common table all those who recognize this platform.

In accordance with the announcement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, it is the government's intention to broaden the democratic, social backing of the authorities, and of the decisions undertaken. However, democracy and partnership cannot be broadened in a state of anarchy and disintegration. The lack of respect for the law and public order clearly makes it difficult for the state to fulfill its function.

Thus emergency means of action become necessary in the interest of the protection of the state and its citizens. The approaching winter aggravates this necessity, which despite intensive preparations may have an extremely menacing influence on the state of the economy and the possibilities for survival.

The economic catastrophe would inevitably lead to a human catastrophe. The state must undertake all the indispensable endeavors toward salvation. Therefore, the government once again issues an appeal for harmony and order, for production and discipline, for a struggle with mismanagement and waste, and for a patriotic sense of responsibility.

The government appeals to society and informs it and all the forces which come forward on its behalf that the maintenance and intensification of destructive excesses is following a direct road to the ruin of all the achievements of socialist renewal. The threat to the domestic life of the country places before the government the necessity of taking sharp and unpopular actions. These actions include, among other things, the stifling of street provocations and the compelling of respect for the law. The Government Presidium today adopted a resolution for the appointing of local operational groups which will be given plenipotentiary powers by the premier to act in parishes, towns and voivodships. These groups will be led by professional soldiers. Private soldiers and noncommissioned officers who are fulfilling their basic service, prolonged by 2 months, will also be included in the makeup of the operational groups.

During the next few days groups of government delegates will travel to the localities. Their main duty is to point out all unfavorable phenomena, to counteract this phenomena and to provide indispensable aid to society and to the local organs of the authorities. The operational groups will undertake in particular action on behalf of the country's preparation for winter, the streamlining of procurement, improving the work of transportation and also struggling against waste and inefficient management. The groups will counteract imbalances in supply. They are to serve citizens, accept their complaints and grievances, react to human wrongs -- specifically help the poorest -- carry out cross section controls of services to the population, and resolve controversies and local problems.

The extraordinary situation calls for extraordinary measures in the action of the authorities on behalf of people's needs. The operational groups' plenipotentiary powers granted to them by the government is a move intended to serve the immediate resolution of problems and as a direct indication of local needs or wrongs done to people.

The delegates of the government will reinforce law and order and make sure that it is observed. In the sum total of their activities they will cooperate closely with both local authorities and public organizations, especially youth organizations as well as trade unions. This emergency action once again brings to the fore the character and the role of the Polish People's Army which serves, as always, the nation in any need.

The Government Presidium also discussed the tasks of the state administration deriving from the resolution of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. An assessment was made of the extent of the implementation of the government's program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the national economy. Decisions have been made aimed at launching and accelerating the implementation of the program. During the meeting information was provided on the state of the work connected with the introduction of the economic reform. With regard to preparations for the winter the Government Presidium studied the progress of measures on various sectors and especially within the jurisdiction of local authorities. Proposals have been adopted for ensuring proper functioning of railway transportation as well as highway and air communications during the winter months. The principles for establishing reserves of foodstuffs have been agreed upon.

The Presidium studied information concerning the state of supplies of liquid fuels and discussed relevant remedies. The government's executive body also discussed urgent matters of daily public life. It was decided to launch measures aimed at improving the conditions of labor safety and hygiene. A draft bill of the Council of Ministers concerning the principles governing the remuneration of employees of financial institutions and a draft bill of the Council of Ministers concerning the duration of working hours of employees in telecommunications in particularly difficult or hazardous conditions were also discussed. The Presidium also examined the fundamental issues of the country's fuel and power balance for 1982. Thank you.

Tasks of 'Operational Groups'

LD252338 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (PAP) -- On 23 October the government adopted a decision on the organization and scale of activity of local operational groups. Lt Gen Tadeusz Hupalowski, minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection, spoke on radio and television today to explain the importance of the decision. He said, in part: Winter lies ahead of us. Whether or not we endure it, particularly the inhabitants of large urban conglomerations, depends on the stability of links between the town and village, and on the stability of the flows of supplies of industrial goods and foodstuffs going in opposite directions. Unfortunately, these links have recently been broken increasingly often; trade exchange has been disrupted. Hence the urgent necessity to bring to light the obstacles and to remove barriers obstructing the life-giving paths from the town to the village and from the village to the town. The time has come when it is essential to surround small towns and town settlements with special care, to concentrate attention on precisely these links in the social and economic infrastructure.

In particular, the decision on the organization of local operation groups, which will be endowed by the government with appropriate powers, is required to serve the common goal thus understood. The operation of these groups will encompass the basic links of the state administration, that is, more than 2,000 parishes and towns. They will render assistance to the local administrative and economic organs, and will first and foremost operate to help the population, to serve it, to render support, and to help those needing assistance. Soldiers on active service will be the backbone of the local operational groups, and soldiers whose period of service has been prolonged will also form part of such groups. The period of service of men of the second callup age has been prolonged by 2 months, in particular just in order to carry out such tasks.

Army To Handle Winter Crisis

NC232112 Paris AFP in English 2108 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (AFP) -- The Polish Government today announced it would deploy military-led units throughout the country to deal with anticipated winter food and transportation crisis on the grass roots level.

"Extraordinary measures are needed to deal with an extraordinary situation," said government spokesman Jerzy Urban in a television address.

He said the units would be led by career Army officers and composed of enlisted men whose regulation military service was being extended.

"Their principle mission is directly to inform the government of any negative phenomena, to take steps to counteract them, and to render necessary assistance to the population and local government," Mr Urban said, quoting from a cabinet decree.

Army To Be 'Buffer Force'

OW240040 Hong Kong AFP in English 0020 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Oct (AFP) -- The government last night assigned the Army to act as a buffer force between the Polish people and local officials.

At the same time, the independent trade union federation Solidarity attempted to stop an unprecedented wave of strikes against food shortages by calling a single nation-wide one-hour strike as a substitute for them.

The government announced on television that "operational groups" of soldiers are being sent to all regions, cities and villages.

One of their assignments will be to "directly inform the government of negative phenomena, local needs and cases of injustice." This indicated lack of confidence in local officials, most of whom are also Communist Party militants.

This unprecedented move by the premier, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who also became party head five days before, seemed unlikely to fully satisfy hard-liners urging the government to get tough and bolster local authorities against agitation by Solidarity.

Another task of the operational groups will be to "be at the service of citizens and find solutions to litigation and local problems."

The operational groups will be commanded by career officers, who cannot be suspected of any responsibility for the current crisis.

Under their orders will be conscripts doing an extra two months of military service -- in other words, soldiers closer to the people than to officials and party militants, observers pointed out.

The groups seem above all intended to be buffers between the local administration, which has a tarnished image, and the people, who in many conflicts have taken sides against officialdom, no matter what the cause of the trouble.

The Army will now be a possible obstacle to Solidarity's goal of checking on food production and distribution. But by assuming the role of arbitrator, the Army risks clashing with the Communist Party, whose authority it represents, observers added.

With strikes against the food shortage already starting or impending in four-fifths of the country, Solidarity's National Commission in Gdansk ordered a one-hour work stoppage throughout the country next Wednesday.

But the commission also asked all local branches of the union to suspend all protest actions "to prepare well" for the nation-wide protest.

This plan recommended by Solidarity chief Lech Walesa aimed at ending wildcat strikes the national leaders can no longer control. The one hour stoppage will be to protest not only the food shortage, but also repression of union militants and government reluctance to let Solidarity inspect the food distribution system.

The nation-wide work halt will be the third since the initial wave of strikes in August last year. On Oct 3 last year, there was a one-hour warning strike to demand official recognition of Solidarity. Then there was a four-hour strike last March 27 to protest against the beating of union officials at Bydgoszcz.

Meanwhile Solidarity ruled out the idea of a government of national union. A Solidarity statement issued in Warsaw said the union would not take part in any government that was not selected by a democratically-elected parliament.

But Mr Walesa said he would like to meet with Premier Jaruzelski "to unify our offices for the winter."

Despite the nation-wide strike call, Solidarity avoided an attitude of confrontation with the government. Union spokesmen said the negotiations over food pricing and rationing were satisfactory and should continue.

Polish Television implicitly cast doubt on rumors that tens of thousands of Poles working across the border in Czechoslovakia were being sacked. A documentary film on these workers affirmed that the pace of work was good despite irregularity in deliveries of Polish supplies needed by those factories.

Extra Military Service Opposed

LD23'328 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- Today's ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI printed the text of a commentary presented on TV prime time news last night by Captain Karol Nowakowski. The captain expressed disappointment that the decisions taken by the government and the Ministry of National Defence to extend by two months the term of the active military duty to enable fully-trained soldiers to ensure further aid to the society and the state in restoring the normal functioning of the basic fields of the national economy, have not met with the whole society's support.

Capitain Nowakowski said: "Some regional Solidarnosc chapters used this fact to unleash a propaganda tumult which strikes out against the coherence and moral and political unity and against the unbreakable bond between the Army and the nation. In a situation of deep-running social and economic crisis that we are going through, someone tries to question and discredit the social meaning of the soldier's intensified service and work.

On the other hand, strikes which are exhausting the country, protest campaigns and other tensions which are disturbing work, including leaflet, propaganda campaigns, are organized and supported. This harmful activity is directed against one's own society, against oneself," Captain Nowakowski said.

Captain Nowakowski went on to say that the campaign of leaflets, orchestrated by regional Solidarity chapters which claim mendaciously that the authors of the leaflets are soldiers themselves," is a well-known practice in the arsenal of subversive techniques which the links of a trade union do a mean thing to employ."

"The primemovers behind such actions clearly exhibit the lack of the elementary sense of civic responsibility for what from the national point of view is so extremely important, namely for economic stability, security and the defense capability of the country."

This proves that someone is really keen to weaken the strong pillars of a socialist state," Captain Nowakowski concluded.

TU Leaflet Campaign Scored

LD232344 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw 23 Oct (PAP) -- In connection with the propaganda leaflet campaign which has been mounted over the extension of the period of Army service by 2 months, the Press and Information Department of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces has handed a statement to PAP, which says in part:

From the point of view of logic and civic responsibility one might have assumed that this decision would be greeted with understanding and approval by all Poles who hold their homeland dear. Unfortunately, this did not happen. Certain regional bodies of the Solidarity trade union are using this to mount a propaganda ballyhoo which encroaches directly upon the cohesion, moral-political unity and inseparable links of the Army with the people. This is an absurdity and a paradox. In the situation of profound socioeconomic crisis which we are experiencing, these forces are attempting, on the one hand, to put in doubt and to discredit the social good sense of the servicemen's stepped up service and labor and, on the other, indeed, are organizing and supporting strikes which are destroying our country, protest campaigns and also other actions which hinder work, including propaganda leaflet campaigns. Where is this leading? These actions are harmful and they are directed against their own people and against themselves.

Servicemen regard these leaflets as being of a provacative nature. Their authors are known. Without doubt they were prepared in the Jelenia Gora and Lower Silesian regional boards of the Solidarity trade union. It is known by whom they are being distributed, although the authorship of some of them is being ascribed to soldiers.

Such a practice is characteristic of the arsenal of diversionary techniques and its use is not appropriate for a trade union on which a considerable proportion of the working class and society pins great hopes. This arouses profound protest and anger among the people in greatcoats.

There are thousands of servicemen in the ranks of the Polish Armed Forces. They belong to the most varied social and professional circles and to varied political, social and trade union organizations, including Solidarity. Together they are all fraternally serving their homeland. They have a common concern for its socialist future, its security and its calm, working life. These are the values that they serve. These are the values which they will guard and loyally defend.

The instigators of the leaflet campaign aimed at servicemen are displaying an absence of elementary civic responsibility for what is extremely important from the viewpoint of the whole people, namely, the economic stability, security and defensive capability of the country.

Does this not attest to the fact that certain people are interested in a weakening of the powerful prop of the socialist state? Whom does this serve? In whose interests is this being done?

SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP ADOPTS STRIKE RESOLUTION

Draft Resolution Discussed

LD231822 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Piotr Szatkowski report from Gdansk, carried in the "Radio Kurier" program]

[Text] This is Piotr Szatkowski speaking from the old town hall in Gdansk for Radio Kurier. The second day of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission [KK] session began here just after 1000. At the time of my relaying this report, the only resolutions adopted pertain to the medicine bank, food aid provided for Poland from abroad and protection of the environment. During the afternoon the members of the commission heard a report by Bogdan Lis on the attitudes of the government and of Solidarity to the draft resolution on the so-called union activation fund. Both sides have demonstrated a far-reaching convergence of views regarding the imperfections of the government draft in this matter.

Following this, strikes organized by branches of Solidarity were discussed. It was stressed, for instance, that the chemical workers' branch has no right to undertake independent strike action as it contravenes the union's statute; yet, as is known, strikes of this kind have already taken place in chemical industry enterprises such as in the Polfa in Starograd.

The largest amount of time was taken up by the discussion on the draft resolution relating to the problems of disucssion on the draft resolution relating to the problms of nutrition and to what is defined in the session hall as the state of threat to the union. With regard to the first matter, problems relating to the distribution of goods and its control by Solidarity were touched on. However, in the second matter, employing the examples of Katowice and Wroclaw, it was said that these were actions aimed against the union. That is also why it was proposed in the draft resolution that a 1-hour protest strike be conducted throughout the country, to take place on the 29th [as heard] of the current month, between 1200-1300.

Solidarity is demanding the introduction of uniform goods rationing throughout the country, the implementation of concrete actions which will ensure a growth in food production, and the acceptance of a national socioeconomic council. Further on in the draft, attention is drawn to the fact that if -- as it is stated -- satisfactory results are not reached in these matters in talks with the government by 30 October this year, then Solidarity will commence preparations for a so-called active strike, which would be chiefly organized in enterprises and plants engaged in the production of food and fuel.

I repeat, this is only a draft, which was received with mixed feelings, and not a resolution, as was reported by certain world agencies.

During today's talks an appeal was also made to the Solidarity works commissions in the country to break off the local strikes, and an appeal was made to the government side for it to take action to end situations which lead to such strikes. Expected this evening are the elections of members of the Presidium of the National Commission and its two deputy chairmen. There is a possibility that the Gdansk session of the National Commission of Solidarity will be completed today. A press conference has been announced.

Strike Call Proposal

LD231956 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Correspondent Piotr Szatkowski interview with Solidarity National Commission press spokesman Marek Brunne in Gdansk 23 October -- live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Brunne] Only one resolution has been passed, on the question of the self-management of the health service. Mrs Przybylska-Wendt, who gave a report on the resolution, presented the [word indistinct] problems of the union's organization of the distribution of medicines amassed in the so-called medicine bank and the distribution and sharing out of food aid provided for Poland from abroad in the form of donations; and she recognized that the union ought to support the creation of self-management in the health service, among other reasons because such self-management is going to be a considerable help in making contacts easier between this semicharitable activity of the union in the distribution of food and the most needed medicines.

[Question] Later Bogdan Lis took the floor.

[Answer] He presented the results of his talks with the government side. These talks concerned the presentation of Solidarity's stance on the draft resolution on the so-called vocational activation fund. This draft resolution embraces such problems as the possibility of lay-offs, benefit for the unemployed, the relearning of skills, and the directing of people who have for one reason or another lost their job to so-called "interventionary," or rather substitute jobs, in which they could earn a living without taking unemployment benefit.

[Question] This afternoon at least two agencies, REUTER and the BBC, reported that today the KK has declared a strike for 28 October.

[Answer] [Word indistinct] a draft of a resolution is being persistently discussed, which is connected with the situation in the country. First, it is a question here of the problems of supplying and feeding the nation, while the second problem is connected with the security of the union. From the report presented by one KK Presidium member it arises that acts, or (?rather I would) say repressions (?or) considerably restricting the union's freedom of activity in such areas as propaganda and information are intensifying. Such a draft resolution was formulated, but I should not like to say more on this matter, because this is just the latest of a number of draft resolutions [word indistinct] presented by the Commission for Resolutions and Motions, drafts on the union's adoption of a stance (?on) these matters; they are inadequate and are only for further discussion.

Brunne Outlines Main Resolution

LD232304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Correspondent Roman (Luczkowski) interview with Solidarity National Commission press spokesman Marek Brunne in Gdansk on 23 October for the "Home and Abroad" program -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Question] In the old town hall in Gdansk the debates of the National Commission [KK] are coming to and end. Can one already attempt a summing up of the debates?

[Answer] I fear that this is a task which is somewhat beyond me. On the other hand, I can say in brief, without quoting from the rather extensive document, what has happened between our last meeting and the present moment. The main resolution of this meeting of the KK has assumed a final form. It makes an assessment of the situation in the country and by assessment two things are meant: First the fact that by a resolution of the congress of delegates the KK was committed to consider by this day precisely, that is by the conclusion of the present debates, and to adopt or reject the results of the negotiations which were conducted with the state authorities by the group of negotiators under chairmanship of Grzegorz Palka.

Those negotiations concerned food supplies and other subjects connected with the economy. Some of the submitted findings were welcomed by the KK, that is it immediately recognized that these are good solutions; but, unfortunately this is not true of all of them. The highly controversial points included the defining of the timetable for the implementation of Solidarity's demands which say that everything should be done and which stipulate that the procurement of livestock should become more efficient, thus ensuring an increase in the supply of foodstuffs, and especially meat, which is in very short supply on the market.

This point has not been accepted; it was decided it should be carried out in accordance with our demands but much sooner than was reflected in the original accords. The KK, acting on the basis of the congress resolution, therefore had to define the form of the protest action aimed at achieving the implementation of this particular demand. In this connection there were, so to speak, two issues which made it necessary to determine the framework of organizing a protest action in the country in order to convey to the authorities that the situation on the market is so menacing that any further attempt to avoid public control merely for reasons of prestige, to save face but to lose a chance of an effective action, could be of great danger to the whole nation. Moreover, there arose the question of the union's safety. By this, those present in the debating hall meant the recently initiated cases of action against the information and propaganda activities of the union. The most drastic events of this kind occurred recently in Wroclaw and Katowice, but these were not the only ones. The number of official charges preferred against members of our union in charge of propaganda departments is very considerable, as is the number of arrests and releases and other forms of harassment. The union has deemed that all this amounts to action aimed against the union, that the security of the union has been jeopardized and that such action, by inflaming the feelings of society in general, is directly aimed against the sense of security of society. In this connection the union decided that this subject [word indistinct] of the national protest action should be incorporated and it was decided that at noon on the 28th a brief 1-hour protest strike will begin throughout the country; it will take the form of an interruption of work by all enterprises and a stoppage of municipal transportation.

Of course there have been demands addressed to the authorities which, should they be met by the end of this month, would automatically eliminate the need to stage this protest action. It was also stated that if these demands are not accepted, either before the protest strike or immediately after it, the KK will be obliged to set a deadline and organize a protest action of a different type, a so-called active strike in sections of the national economy and areas of our members' professional activities as selected by the commission. At the same time, at the end of the resolution -- the main resolution of the KK -- the latter appeals to and calls upon all regional trade union organizations and all commissions at industrial enterprises involved at present in local protest strikes or other forms of protest action, to interrupt such actions and to join in the national action. At the same time, it appeals to local authorities and to the central state authorities to meet the local demands which have provided the sparks that led to the flare-ups of the last few days in Poland, in the various towns and work places.

[Question] Is is expected that the session will adopt further resolutions?

[Answer] There is still the time of "any other business" on the agenda. It is almost 100 percent certain that the KK will adopt a resolution defining and drawing-up the formal framework for cooperation between our union and the Solidarity of Private Farmers. A relevant proposal for the action to be taken at this moment will be put forward by Mr Kulaj, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers. The proposal has, naturally, been accepted and there is a working team which at present is working in an effort to elaborate the general form of cooperation between the two unions.

Resolution on Strike

LD241154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Resolution adopted by Solidarity National Commission at 22-23 October plenum in Gdansk; read by Solidarity National Commission spokesman Marek Brunne -- live or recorded]

[Text] The National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity has made an analysis of our country's current socioeconomic situation. It is as follows:

1. In all sectors of the economy a profound crisis is continuing, which is the outcome of the erroneous policy of the ruling party. The results of this crisis are most painfully felt by society in the sphere of food supplies, especially meat.

2. The measures taken by the authorities are of a chaotic nature and only make the situation worse. Society has lost so much confidence in the authorities that it does not believe in the official assessment of the situation, in there being a sincere desire to rectify it, or in there being consistency and honesty in implementing the program for rectifying matters. The lack of confidence is all the greater since the authorities deny society the right to real control over those measures.

3. NSZZ Solidarity has submitted a proposal for breaking through the crisis of confidence in government-society relations by setting up institutions guaranteeing society's control over government economic policy.

4. The authorities have rejected Solidarity's proposals. At the same time they have launched a defamatory propaganda campaign against our union.

5. In parallel, arrests and other repressions are being carried out in several regions against union activists. Union information media are subjected to particular attack. The NSZZ Solidarity KK states that this kind of behavior by the authorities creates a state of threat to the union and society, whose will is represented by the union. The irresponsible behavior by the authorities may result in a national disaster. We are of the opinion that the situation demands that society warn the adventurist groups in the machinery of authority by means of a general and uniform protest action throughout the whole country. The Solidarity KK decides that there will be a work stoppage at 1200 on 28 October 1981 in all workplaces in Poland. Municipal transportation will be halted. The action will last 60 minutes.

We also demand that the authorities, as a matter of urgency, first take energetic measures in accordance with Solidarity's proposals, leading to an increase in the procurement of animals for slaughter; second, carry out a standardization of the degree of coverage of meat ration books throughout the whole country; third, immediately halt repression against union activists; and fourth, grant the appropriate powers to the social national economy council and to the union social control commissions.

If these demands are not met by the government by the end of this month, the union will be compelled to prepare and undertake an active strike in selected sectors of the economy. The date and scope of the strike will be defined by the KK.

The KK also calls on all regions and plants to terminate protest actions now in progress and to join in the nationwide action.

The KK calls on the state authorities for an immediate solution to the local problems which have caused the protest actions.

TV Boycott Appeal

LD232340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Excerpts] A 2-day session of the National Commission of Solidarity ended in Gdansk. The main subject of discussion was the issue of adopting a resolution determining Solidarity's attitude toward the present socioeconomic situation in the country.

Those who participated in the discussion agreed in their assessment of the situation. They described the situation as very critical and blamed the authorities for this state of affairs. There was a difference of opinion, however, regarding the steps which the union should take in order to compel the authorities to implement the union's demands.

During the session, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers Jan Kulaj spoke and drew attention to the fact that the food problem can only be solved with the participation of peasants. He said that peasants are holding back as far as the sale of foodstuffs is concerned, not only for economic reasons but also due to political causes because farmers do not trust the government. He said that one should not expect an increase in supplies despite the fact that procurement prices have been increased.

During the session the commission drafted instructions for its negotiating group concerning the setting up of a social council for national economy.

Toward the end of the session an appeal was adopted recommending that workforces of all enterprises boycott television, as a retailiatory action against the campaign launched by the authorities against the publications of the union. In accordance with this appeal television personnel should not be allowed to enter the territory of enterprises without the consent of the local commissions of Solidarity at the television centers concerned.

'Stormy' KK Debate Ends

LD240858 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- On the second day of its session, which came to an end in Gdansk today, Solidarnosc National Commission [KK] resolved to stage an hour-long, national all-out strike on 28 Oct. And appealed to all regions to end local protest actions and join the nation-wide strike.

Today's National Commission session was stormy, dramatic at times. The number one issue of the debate was a resolution defining the union's stance on Poland's present socio-economic situation. Participants in the debate agreed it was critical and put the blame on the authorities. The differences of opinion concerned the steps the union should take to force the authorities to meet its demands.

One proof of the dramatic tension of the debate was the fact that the resolution was amended twice after it had already been passed in a voting. One of the variants, formally in force for a short while, envisaged a general strike. Some of the participants in the debate went further than that, aiming at what one of the speakers defined as toppling the government. For a while it seemed this orientation would win. Finally, after Walesa's speech, a more moderate approach triumphed, and the finally adopted variant is the least radical of those proposed.

A heated debate was also provoked by the government proposal put forth during the economic negotiations for Solidarnosc not to interfere in the raises of prices of alcohol, cigarettes and luxury goods. The proposal was rejected.

The National Commission set instructions for the negotiating group concerning the foundation of the social council of national economy.

According to the instruction, the council should be set up in the process of cooperation between the free union organizations of Solidarnosc and cultural and scientific milieus, with the support of the church.

At the end of the debates an appeal was issued to all crews of enterprises to boycott TV in revenge for the authorities' campaign against union publications. According to the appeal, no TV crews should be allowed to enter work establishments without permission from Solidarnosc commissions in local TV stations.

AFP on KK Session

NC231543 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 23 Oct (AFP) -- Leaders of the Solidarity free union federation today called a one-hour national strike for next Wednesday to protest recent police actions against union activists, union sources said here.

The proposal for a token, warning stoppage was carried by a large majority at the union's 107-member Coordinating Commission meeting in Gdansk city hall, the sources said.

The commission also called on the government to "resolve" by October 30 "all the conflicts" opposing Solidarity members and the administration. Strikes and other protest actions are currently being held in close to 39 of Poland's 49 departments.

The resolution also supported staging an "active strike" but did not fix any date.

The strike would aim to push the union's proposal for a national economic council to exercise "social control" over the production and distribution of several products, including coal and food supplies. Under the union's proposal, this council would substitute current official structures. But the government has so far consistently rejected the critical question of "social control."

The Solidarity commission vetoed an initial move to stage the "active strike" three weeks after the one-hour warning strike next Wednesday. Several delegates said they thought the delay would be too short to prepare the population for such an important action, if necessary.

Among those reported voting in favor of the warning strike was Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. He called for "calm," however, stating that "it's now or never to win."

The commission urged all union sections to call off other [word indistinct] underway, pending the official Wednesday stoppage from noon to 1 p.m. (1100 to 1200 GMT), the sources said.

The strike call follows police attempts early this week to stop Solidarity activists distributing tracts in the cities of Katowice and Wroclaw.

Several Solidarity members were arrested -- it was said that their tracts appealed to Polish soldiers not to turn against the workers -- but they were quickly released in the face of mounting union protests.

The Solidarity Coordinating Commission, which began its session here yesterday, has made clear its belief that such police action endanger union freedom and thus threaten Solidarity itself.

Despite the resolution, Solidarity avoided an attitude of confrontation with the government.

Conceding the differences over "social control" in economic areas union sources said recent government-labor negotiations over pricing and rationing of supplies were satisfactory and should continue.

The union underscored its determination to continue demands for "social control," but to make it a "long term" aim.

Mr Walesa also said he would like to meet Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's new party secretary, as soon as possible.

"I will propose to him to forget our different beliefs in order to unify our forces for the winter," he said.

Government officials in Warsaw said they knew of no plans for a meeting.

But union sources here said the two may meet next Monday. They added that the meeting would probably take place before the next session of the party's policy-making Central Committee, widely expected to open on Tuesday.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' TU COMMITTEE STATEMENT

LD250136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 24 Oct 81

["Text" of a statement by the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs regarding the resolution by the Solidarity National Commission -- date not given]

[Text] The National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity, on 23 October 1981, adopted a resolution on a general protest strike, and it threatens even larger ones. At a moment when Poles are losing their means of livelihood, and [words indistinct] winter is approaching which may be the most serious one in the postwar history of the country. The Solidarity authorities are waging a sort of war against the national economy.

The strike pistol is thus pointed not only at the temples of the government, but at the entire community -- states the communique.

The Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs expresses great anxiety. The committee states that the in the name of aims which are hostile to the socialist state, the Solidarity extremists have exposed the nation to great sufferings. The Polish nation can feed itself, satisfy its basic needs and survive the winter in safety. Two things are needed for this: normal, productive work and the acquisition by the authorities of possibilities for implementing the economic policy.

These actions by the authorities are being rendered difficult in order to turn them against the socialist state, to create a conflict situation -- we read further on in the communique.

The acquisition of food -- and Solidarity admits this, both rural and urban -- is helped by ensuring coal for the farmers, as well as the means of production for industry. For many months already, the authorities of the miners' Solidarity have been blocking more extraction of coal, thus depriving the country-side of fuel -- and depriving the whole community of its main power and export product. Also the strike which began in the sulphur basin threatens to hamper production of superphosphate which is indispensable in agriculture, and to deprive the country of over $1 million per day.

Since September last year until September of this year, the stocks of industrial items have fallen by Z92 billion, that is by one-third. If strikes and tension continue, the possibility of supplying the population with basic industrial goods for the winter, such as warm clothing and footwear, will begin to disappear.

The shops with industrial goods are beginning to look like the food shops: The shutting down of every third one is planned, in order not to carry the costs of maintaining establishments which have nothing to sell. In the past the authorities committed severe errors in the economy -- we read in the communique of the Committee for Trade Union Affairs -- but never has the material situation of the population found itself in such a despair-inspiring level.

Let the Solidarity activists stop saying that the crisis is still and ever more the result of the government's incompetence. The community, in the tragic situation to which it has been led, sooner or later will manage to distinguish the results of errors and obsolete structures which started the present crisis, from the effects of the actual economic sabotage which we experience today.

Like every nation, we have an instinct for self-preservation. We want to develop and to survive. The actions of the authorities are striving in this direction, initiating and gradually implementing the reforms -- which are bolder than at any time, or anywhere -- but they are hampered and complicated by the incessant veto of Solidarity leaders.

The Solidarity leadership -- the communique goes on to say -- is endowed with trust by a considerable part of the community, and in fact with no responsibility; but presents the union as an object of slanders and a victim of repressions. Against the Solidarity union and its activists there is no repression. There exist all possibilities for carrying out authentically trade unionist activity.

The government, however, cannot agree to placing anyone in Poland above the law -- which is the same for everyone, and must be observed. The actions of the prosecuting organs concern exclusively antistate and anti-Soviet deeds, aimed against the constitutional order and fundamental interests of the nation.

Solidarity itself ought to be interested in combating such excesses as activity which contradicts the agreements and the union statute. Demoralization and anarchy cannot be tolerated in any state, unless one wants to bring about the disintegration of the state itself.

Moderation and goodwill shown by the authorities, and the smoothing of relations are treated as the state's helplessness and are abused. Such a state of affairs, in the interests of the peace of our nation, cannot exist any longer -- states the communique of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs.

The committee states that the Solidarity union still has not replied to those government declarations which were addressed in the government message to the Solidarity congress. Nonetheless, the committee replies to the Solidarity declarations toward the government, which are called "demands," and which were adopted on 23 October by the KK.

The authorities state, among other things, that they are making various efforts, including initiatives aimed at increasing procurement, and demand that these activities not be interfered with by halting the means of production for the countryside, above all of coal. The authorities also made equal the amount of ration coupons for meat, with the exception of large areas of Warsaw, Katowice and Lodz which do not have a suitable food base.

The government appeals that no local strikes be called to force increased allotments for a given region, at the cost of working people of other regions.

The Council of Ministers committee states that the KK of Solidarity is leading the community astray when it says that the government is refusing the right of the community to control its activities. It transpires from the August negotiations of the Presidium of the then National Consultative Commission [KKP] with the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, the course of which was published, that the government invites and encourages such control and it discloses data to all social and trade union organizations which are not a military secret or a secret connected with confidential negotiations in international trade.

Solidarity does not want to enter into such constructive control. Moreover, the proposal to set up a mixed commission that would deal with the pressing issues of supplies, goods rationing, procurement, prices and the like, was rejected by Solidarity.

This is all the more regrettable since the Consultative Commission of Industrial Branch Trade Unions, the Confederation of Autonomous Trade Unions, the Central Council of the agency of the Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, the NSZZ of Private Farmers, the National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, the NSZZ of Craftsmen Solidarity and a number of other trade union central organizations, responded to this government appeal.

The Council of Ministers committee, reiterating its proposal for NSZZ Solidarity to participate in the mixed commission, points out that the situation in the country and the nation demands that efficient activities be undertaken, and that matters in which trade unions have the right -- and in which it is their duty to have a say -- be decided efficiently. Thus the best thing would be to have a common conference table where all assembled representatives of trade union activists from cities and the countryside would sit together, present their stance, seek and reach joint agreements for the good of the community which are at present of particular significance for the improvement of supplies to the population.

Constant rejections by the KKP of Solidarity of opportunities for joint deliberation with other representatives of trade union movements are an inadmissable form of treating millions of working people who are grouped together in other unions as lepers, an antidemocratic usurpation of a momopoly for representing the whole of the community -- the communique states.

On the issue of the social council of national economy, which was proposed by Solidarity, the Council of Ministers committee already expressed its views in a statement dated 16 October, rejecting the idea to create a superpower above the government which would be sponsored by Solidarity. Since Solidarity authorities began to depart from the original draft proposal, the government agreed to working discussions on a possible different concept of the council and also on the government draft for the mixed commission.

This is why the committee states with astonishment and indignation that several days after the joint agreements with the working group of the Council of Ministers committee on the issue of setting up a working group for negotiating a platform of cooperation were signed by representatives of the highest authorities of Solidarity, strikes were declared and threats made of a general strike offensive, inter alia, in the name of setting up a social council for national economy. In point 2A of the agreements the sides agreed, after all, that they would set up a working group for discussing the government and trade union proposals. This group had not yet begun work when the KK trampled the agreements which it had just signed, and instead of seeking accord it is resorting to blackmail in the form of strikes, disregarding the harm which will be inflicted on the community because of this.

The talks between the government and Solidarity are losing all their sense, we read at the end of the communique, if strikes are stirred up which destroy the economic fabric and simultaneously the possibilities of accord. The Council of Ministers demands that strikes be stopped in the name of saving the community from pernicious consequences. Responsibility for continuing an opposition strike policy rests heavily with the extremist elements of the leadership of Solidarity.

SOLIDARITY BRANCHES IGNORE CALL TO END STRIKES

NC251626 Paris AFP in English 1615 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (AFP) -- Several regional union branches have apparently ignored Solidarity leaders' appeal Friday to end their strikes.

Union sources today said general strikes launched several days ago in the regions of Zielona-Gora in the west and Tarnobrzeg in the south were continuing today.

Local leaders of the independent trade union, questioned by telephone, said they were not "concerned" by the appeal issued Friday by Solidarity's National Coordinating Commission.

They said their actions "did not contradict" the commission's directive that members call off protests and wildcat strikes reportedly being waged in two-thirds of the country.

The local leaders also stressed their intention to continue protests until their claims -- better food supplies and the dismissal of certain regional officials -- were satisfied.

In other parts of the country, a strike alert was still in effect, notably in the central Piotrkow-Trybunalski region.

The union commission has called a one-hour nationwide strike for Wednesday to protest recent police actions against union activists.

A large number of local Solidarity chapter leaders are to meet tomorrow to discuss the appeal. The commission is hoping the one-hour strike will come off as a show of labor unity in Poland.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS POSSIBLE SOLIDARITY STRIKE

LD241958 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Oct (PAP) -- "Against the Line of Accord" is the title of an article in TRYBUNA LUDU which comments on the meeting of the Solidarity National Commission. It says, among other things: Again through the fault of those who bandy about slogans on the defense of workers and who keep making references to the millions of Solidarity members, there has occurred an escalation of political demands which have nothing in common with the activities of a trade union or with the defense of workers' interests. Legitimate action aimed at putting an end to lawlessness is presented as a "threat to the trade union." Yes, lawlessness is the correct word to use. After all, neither the accords reached in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, nor the decision on the registration of Solidartiy, nor the censorship law adopted by the Sejm with the approval of Solidarity, contained permission to indulge in activities aimed against the constitutional socialist system in our country, the leading role of the PZPR and our alliances.

The protest strike and the threat of a so-called action strike proclaimed by the Solidarity KK constitute yet another element of a unilateral breaking of the already very much weakened threads of social accords.

Instead of beginning to cooperate constructively, as is proposed in the resolution of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the Solidarity trade union movement once again, unfortunately, is straying from the path of political struggle [as received]. It can be presumed that the demogic slogans which have replaced commonsense arguments will not convince those who actually decide the fate of Solidarity, TRYBUNA LUDU concludes.

NATIONAL STRIKE SITUATION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Strike Reports Roundup

LD232012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Here is a report on the social situation in the country, based on dispatches from our correspondents and the POLISH PRESS AGNECY:

The situation in Piotrkow Voivodship is unchanged. The strike alert is into its 12th day in the enterprises of this voivodship. The talks between the minister of Domestic Trade and Services, Zygmunt Lakomiec, and the negotiating team of Solidarity and the Industrial Branch Trade Unions of Piotrkow Voivodship have not resumed.

At a meeting held yesterday, the union coordination council in Belchatow, after assessing the social and economic situation in Belchatow and Piotrkow Voivodships, adopted a statement saying it has decided to continue the protest action and to participate actively in negotiations with the government commission. The statement says that in the country's present situation, the council decisively opposses strike action and any decision on joining in the action should be made by individual workforces. The council also demands the immediate resumption of talks with the government commission.

The general strike in Zielona Gora Voivodship, which started yesterday morning on an initiative of the regional strike committee of NSZZ Solidarity, is continuing. The action encompasses most enterprises in the region. Health and educational centers, communal and power industry services, as well as communication and trade and procurement services, are excluded from this action. The operation of municipal transportation is restricted. The strike is a form of support for the demands of the majority of workers of the Lubogora agricultural enterprise who are on strike. Their main demand is the recall of the manager and deputy manager of the enterprise and of the manager of the Swiebodzin agricultural farm complex.

Let us recall that during talks with Solidarity yesterday, the party Central Committee secretary, Zbigniew Michalek, proposed a halt to the strike and the prompt formation of workers self-management in Lubogora, which would make a decision on the management. This proposal has not been approved so far. [Words indistinct]

After the talks between the government working team and the Solidarity regional strike committee in Sandomierz, which were broken off on 21 October, social tension has increased in the Tarnobrzeg region. Today, in accordance with a Solidarity resolution a strike started in most works and enterprises. The Stalowa Wola industrial complex -- the largest enterprise in the voivodship -- the Siarkopol sulfer mines and processing plants in Tarnobrzeg are among the enterprises which are on strike.

Piotrkow Situation Report

LD241242 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Oct 81

[By Paulin Plominski in Piotrkow Trybunalski -- live or recorded]

[Excerpts] The tense social situation in Piotrkow Voivodship remains unchanged. Early Monday afternoon there will be a meeting of the Interfactory Strike Committee. At that meeting decisions will be made on further steps and possible conformity to the National Commission resolution.

The plenum of the trade union coordination council of Industrial Branch Trade Unions on the construction site of the Belchatow industrial basin has issued a declaration concerning the situation in Piotrkow Voivodship. The declaration states that the plenum has decided to continue the protest action because of the insufficient supplies of food and everyday necessities. However, considering the country's present situation, there is firm opposition to strike action and the workforces themselves will decide on any possible participation in a strike action. The plenum demands immediate resumption of the talks with the government commission and states that its representatives will actively participate.

Zielona Gora Dispute

LD241907 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] The conflict at the agricultural enterprise in Lubogora continues to be unresolved. The resolution of the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity concerning a general strike in the Zielona Gora Voivodship continues to be in force.

Solidarity is calling for the director of the agricultural enterprise in Lubogora and the director of the Swiebodzin agricultural combine to be recalled from their posts. The commission appointed by the Zielona Gora voivoda in order to examine the accusations made against these directors is continuing its work. Following the completion of the work of this commission, it is expected that the authorities will enter into talks with the regional strike committee.

Today a meeting was held between the voivoda of Zielona Gora, Zbigniew Cyganic and the ordinary of the Gorzow Wielkopolski Diocese, Bishop Wilhelm Pluta. The first secretary of the Zielona Gora PZPR voivodship committee, Jerzy Dabrowski, was also present. Joint concern over the tense situation in the region was expressed. The need for an intensification of efforts by the authorities and by Solidarity towards a resolution of the conflict was stressed.

Voivoda, Bishop Hold Talks

LD242380 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] The conflict at the agricultural enterprise in Lubogora continues to be unresolved. The resolution of the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity concerning a general strike in the Zielona Gora Voivodship continues to be in force. Solidarity is calling for the director of the agricultural enterprise in Lubogora and the director of the Swiebodzin agricultural combine to be recalled from their posts. The commission appointed by the Zielona Gora voivoda in order to examine the accusations made against these directors is continuing its work. Following the completion of the work of this commission, it is expected that the authorities will enter into talks with the regional strike committee.

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The voivoda reported on the worsening socioeconomic situation in the adjoining central Odra region caused by the growing wave of strikes, and on other negative phenomena in public life as well as the initiatives embarked upon by the authorities in order to (?resolve issues). Bishop Wilhelm Pluta shared the concern of his interlocutors, pointing to the need to multiply the efforts of the whole of society and for good will on both sides to maintain social peace and to create conditions for normal working.

He also voiced the opinion that the growing wave of strikes deals a blow against society's vital interests, especially as the winter is approaching and the stocks of raw materials, materials and fuels are inadequate; reserves of [word indistinct] agricultural produce are incomplete and each day of delay could result in irreparable losses.

In conditions such as these, all conflicts ought to be resolved in such a way that laws are observed and on a path of sympathetic understanding for the positions of both sides.

The voivoda thanked the Gorzow Diocese ordinary for his support of social initiatives aimed at calming feelings and restoring the normal pattern of life and work in the region. The voivoda availed himself of this opportunity to convey through the bishop thanks to the clergy of Zielona Gora Voivodship for its civic-minded attitude in disseminating moral principles and alleviating local conflicts.

Solidarity To Meet With Ciosek

LD251938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Conflict in the agricultural enterprise in Lubogora continues.

The resolution by the regional board of Zielona Gora Solidarity to call a general strike in the voivodship is still in force. Talks between the voivodship authorities and the regional strike committee have not yet been held. In connection with this, Solidarity has decided to send a delegation to the minister for cooperation with trade unions, Stanislaw Ciosek, which will be composed of representatives of the work enterprises which are on strike and of the regional strike committee.

Zyrardow 'Quiet'

LD232332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Our special correspondent Tadeusz Jedrzejewicz reports on the situation in Zyrardow: One hour ago I returned from Zyrardow. The workforce in all the most important enterprises in the town are on strike -- the knitting, hosiery, and clothing factories and the Stella, (Poltex) and other plants. The streets are quiet. From the interview I conducted with the town's deputy mayor, Jerzy Sikorski, it transpires that the local authorities have undertaken efforts to improve supplies to the shops. These efforts have produced perceptible results. Recently there were long lines at all shops, but still one can buy something. Female workers from the Stella plant confirmed the opinion that the supplies over the last few days are a little better.

The town lives in expectation of the results of the talks, which the delegation of the Interfactory Strike Committee has been conducting since 1600 with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Everybody, the strikers included, realize that the halt to production -- now in its 11th consecutive day -- by so many plants, which after all are working mainly for the needs of the market, is a very costly form of protest.

Rakowski Meets Representatives

LD240848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The sit-in strike is still going on in the Zyrardow industrial enterprises and the (Poldrex) clothing enterprise in Mszczonow.

Despite the authorities' strenuous efforts, which resulted in some improvement of the food supply, the strikers did not give in. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, on behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received a group representing the striking workforces and work enterprises in Zyrardow. Representatives of voivodship and municipal authorities took part in the meeting. The living conditions of town and voivodship inhabitants were discussed.

Situation in Tarnobrzeg

LD232258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Serious social tension continues to prevail in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. The general strike proclaimed by the regional board of NSZZ Solidarity of the Sandomierz region began today in the majority of work enterprises in this region.

Today a plenum of the voivodship party committee took place in Tarnobrzeg. In view of the critical situation in the voivodship brought about by the general strike, it was decided to deal with the question of the demands of Solidarity and also to analyze the causes of the current social tension.

The plenum adopted decisions which should have an effect on the solution of the conflicts in Tarnobrzeg. It was decided, among other things, that a party voivodship commission would look into the accusations made regarding certain representatives of the administrative authorities.

Over and above that, the participants in today's plenary session of the voivodship commission of the party in Tarnobrzeg addressed an appeal to the working people of this voivodship pointing out the inadvisability of the present strike, the losses tha are resulting from it, and calling on them to begin work. The voivodship party authorities also expressed their readiness to begin talks and to discuss all the matters and problems which it is possible to deal with at the moment.

On the other hand, representatives of the regional strike committee of the Sandomierz region were met today by a group of Sejm deputies from the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. The causes of the strike and the demands of the protestors were submitted to the deputies.

Government Sets Up Commission

LD252140 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (PAP) -- A special government commission, appointed by the premier, PUWP First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, is going to investigate the economic losses, including those incurred by the defense industry, and other social and moral effects of a series of Solidarity-organized strikes in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship which affect the "Siarkopol" suplhur mines and processing plant, the "Stalowa Wola" steel mill and other establishments of a fundamental importance to the country's economy.

The commission is headed by Vice-Premier Andrzej Jedynak. Assisting Vice-Premier Jedynak are also General Tadeusz Tuczapski, secretary of the country's defense committee; Jan Knapik, minister of the chemical and light industry; General Wladyslaw Pozoga, vice-minister of the internal affairs; and Jerzy Wozniak, vice-minister of the metallurgy and the machine industry.

Kielce Steelworks Strike

LD241400 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Wlodzimierz [name indistinct] dispatch from Kielce]

[Text] In the Marceli Nowotko steelworks a strike alert is in force, and the workforce is waiting for the results of a referendum which will provide the answer to the questions put by the works Solidarity [words indistinct] for first question concerns support for strike action; and the second, support for Solidarity's attempts to obtain premises in the works house of culture occupied by the PZPR municipal committee and to hand rooms over for cultural and educational purposes. The results of the referendum will be given this Monday before Solidarity's talks with the works management and the municipal authorities.

Solidarity's demands are set out in 13 points. The first concerns an immediate improvement in supplies of basic foodstuffs, hygiene products and clothing to Ostrowiec. As for the work of the steelworks, by yesterday because of electricity cuts three furnaces in the electric steel smelting shop stood idle, two with a capacity of 140 tons and one 50-tons. There was also a shortage of [words indistinct] for the small-scale rolling mill. In this situation, the steel workers are already waiting for the approaching winter with disquiet.

Pomorze Strike Readiness

LD240912 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The coordinating commission of construction workers attached to the Pomorze regional board of NSZZ Solidarity has notified the minister of construction and the construction materials industry that beginning today [23 October] 65 building enterprises, affiliated under the regional board commission, are in strike readiness. One of the causes for the protest is the catastrophic -- in the authors' view -- material situation in the construction industry.

Krosno Workers Indicted

LD231852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] According to our correspondent, the Krosno regional prosecutor today submitted to the town's regional court an act of indictment in the well-known and famous affair relating to the recent carting out in a wheelbarrow of an activist of the metal workers trade union in the Krosno Polmo shock absorber factory. The prosecutor is indicting four employees of the factory who are members of the Solidarity works organization. They are being accused of acting jointly and in complicity with other persons, on 7 October, with a threat to use force, to compel Jozef Topolski to leave the building in which he worked, and then to sit in a wheelbarrow by means of which he was carried out of the area of the enterprise, and was insulted in the presence of a group of employees.

Railwaymen Open Congress

LD252320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] The first national congress of delegates of the NSZZ Solidarity of Railwaymen began in Wroclaw today. The first day was devoted to procedural matters. The congress is expected to go on until Wednesday.

Lomza Employees Protest

LD241546 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The state of tension in the country is clearly prolonging itself. In Lomza, members of the trade union of employees of the health service are protesting. They are calling for the charter of health service employees before the end of the year.

RESPONSES TO SOLIDARITY ACTIONS VIEWED

Citizens' Militia Official

LD251206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2306 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Interview with Major Ryszard (Podtarty) from the Citizens' Militia headquarters by correspondent Macies (Szeborski); time and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The events of 20 October in Katowice and of 21 October in Wroclaw, have caused many Solidarity representatives to proclaim publicly that the militia attacked the union, that this was an attack on its independence.

[Answer] Yes, I would like to quote from the resolution of Solidarity's National Commission of 23 October which states, among other things: At the same time there have been arrests and other repressions against union members in several regions. The union's information media are the object of such attacks.

I would simply like to ask the authors of this resolution whether they can cite one example of repression, of the arrest of a single union activist for union activity conducted in accordance with the law.

[Question] Let us then recall the events which took place in Katowice and Wroclaw.

[Answer] Yes, let us see what the events look like in fact. In Katowice, Tadeusz (Buranowski), a member of Solidarity, together with other people, was disseminating illegal publications aimed against the political system of the Polish People's Republic, against our international alliances and against the prestige of our state.

In Wroclaw, Citizen (Olgiero Gasztow), a local Solidarity activist, was also distributing publications of an antistate character and leaflets striking against the interests of the state and of the Polish People's Army.

[Question] The so-called leaflet to soldiers.

[Answer] Yes, the so-called leaflet to soldiers. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that this information was spread by using a vehicle carrying the Solidarity emblem and by the use of loudspeaker equipment.

[Question] Does one not require special permission for this?

[Answer] A special permit must be issued to use loudspeakers and megaphones.

[Question] Was there a permit in Wroclaw?

[Answer] There was no permit.

[Question] The National Commission resolution also mentions the arrest of union members. Are any of the participants in the events in Katowice and Wroclaw currently under arrest?

[Answer] At this moment, none of the participants in the Katowice and Wroclaw incidents is under arrest. It is true that they were detained during the events but after [word indistinct] and explaining their actions they were released.

[Question] So you state categorically that the arrest of Solidarity officials during the incident in Wroclaw occurred not because of their union activity but because of extrastatutory activity.

[Answer] Of course, the arrests in Katowice and Wroclaw took place because the law was being broken. There are no members of Solidarity who were detained because of activities conducted in accordance with the statute or with the law. It must be stated that we will continue to act against those people who break Polish law. Our activities will be effective and consistent.

People Becoming 'Embittered'

LD242326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Adam Wysocki commentary]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. We all know the facts; similarly, we all know what has been happening. Apart from the opinions that are being voiced we do not really know anything more. It is proving more difficult to make these opinions harmonize better. It is also proving more difficult to draw appropriate conclusions. One thing, however, is certain: What is happening in this country at the moment cannot but give rise to the highest concern, nay, alarm. Strikes, threats of strikes, or strike alerts are being declared almost everywhere in the country now. Anything can be the cause: Here, students do not like the date on which the exams have been set; there, people are angry because the minister gave the director the sack; elsewhere, things are even worse because someone has failed to sack someone else. Different things serve as causes of work stoppages. Sometimes they are completely justified from the social viewpoint -- as when the cause is important, as for instance in the case of the tragic market situation. However, here we have Szczecin construction workers saying -- and they are not completely unjustified in saying this -- that the disastrous situation in the supply of materials is one of the main causes of their strike alert. If their situation fails to improve by 3 November they threaten a general strike. The same threats have been made in connection with food supplies.

Well, maybe it is a pity that they do not address their justified grievances to their own colleagues who are cutting the output of construction materials, for instance because of the fact that coal is in short supply and concrete works cannot operate without it.

But let us say openly and outright -- concrete is not an issue here, or, if it is, it is rather the kind to be found in the solidified brains of politickers and those with abundant ambitions from the right and the left; the kind of people who seem to be living somewhere on Mars, who seem to be oblivious of the gravest and most terrible threat to our country, the result of their mad playing with fire.

Personally, I do not know -- and, in fact, I think that no one really does -- how many Poles support the Solidarity leaders or some Solidarty leaders and how many Poles support the government or the leadership of the party. The real line of division does not run along this groove, anyway, although, faced with facts, it is difficult for one to deny that this line is already deep enough as it is and that it is getting deeper all the time. Well, what, then, is to be done? In whose interest is it to show that the post-August line of social contract and socialist renewal enshrined in the documents from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie, is a mere scrap of paper and not a testimony to a historic compromise, but rather to historic stupidity?

Is the wave of strikes and protests we are about to have to face and the announcement of the general strike to be the correct and sole reply to the appeal of the party and the government to continue dialogue and cooperation? Is yet another proof needed that the authorities are being ignored? Or is all this about power in general, or, could it be the case that, for the time being, all this is about the union's power? How, after all, is one to reconcile all those strikes and threats with the letter of the recent resolutions and decisions passed by the highest union authorities themselves?

Apparently the regional activists who have either been removed, or who failed to be elected, wish to have the last word. The question is this: When illegal anti-Soviet or antistate materials have been impounded and as a consequence street cars and buses are halted in a large city for many hours, whose interests are being defended by this kind of revenge? Did the local luminaries and decisionmakers, against whom this action was supposed to have been directed, have to fight their way through mud and rain in the streets? Against whom was this kind of blow intended? Whom did they want to annoy?

What can be said about the demagogic demands to remove voivodas or their deputies if in the space of just a few days they fail to solve supply problems affecting their regions? We have various voivodas, better and worse ones, this is true. But, I suppose, people would be quite interested to learn the names and addresses of wizards, in the current situation and present conditions, capable of performing a miracle like improving the market situation at a stroke?

But surely we are not concerned with miracles here. What we must tackle does not have much in common with defending the union and the interests of millions of its rank-and-file members. A considerable proportion of Solidarity members and its followers understand this and follow with increasing anxiety the development of the latest events. People in Poland are more and more embittered, embittered and angry, and they have their reasons for this. So much evil and villainy is constantly taking place around us. We have so many examples of incompetence, waste, stupidity and plain egoism. And, unfortunately, there are so few glimpses of hope for peace in the near future and for improvement. This is the truth and one has to remember it.

What are some of the manipulators of the latest events concerned with? Andrzej Gwiazda, among others, spoke about this openly and emphatically. I quote from the press: There is no point in deluding oneself. This is a formal announcement of the seizure of a considerable amount of power; we do not overturn them, but leave them all in their marble offices. This is a refusal to be bound by some of the laws and this will be clearly apparent to people.

We must restore the state apparatus; such action must be carried out by means of a general strike. End of quotation. Clearly said, is it not: To hell with all marble offices? They are not going to provide food for anyone, and food represents the greatest problem. The National Commission, as the first point of its demands, rightly demands that the authorities take energetic measures that would help the procurement of livestock. At the same time the leader of the private farmers union, speaking in Gdansk, criticizes the government for attempts to activate procurement by means of a direct exchange of industrial products for agricultural articles and foodstuffs. Jan Kulaj says that this is the wrong method. He is probably right. The government has tried a different method: through a profitable increase in procurement prices. This also failed. What are we to do in that case? What recipe does Mr Kulaj have? I only read in TRYBUNA LUDU that he proposed that the forces of the two unions be united, especially in the working out of the final concept of the announced action strike. Let us go on strike then, both in cities and in the countryside. The only thing is, who for goodness sake will feed the hungry children? And with what? If the general strike that has been announced for the near future is to be, as they say, a defensive strike, then who is defending whom from what?

This morning, in the INTERPRESS club in Warsaw, a certain Western correspondent said to me openly: The matter is clear to me: The consolidation and unity of the union are what is wanted, an internal consolidation in the face of external threat. I think that I am not the only person to ask the question: What is more important, the unity and the interest of the union's leadership, or the unity and the interest of the nation and the state? The English have an old and wise proverb which says that this is my country right or wrong -- my country, and not this country as some say, but my, our country, a country which has found itself under direct threat. Are we to destroy each other and perish? It is time to stop and think about everything and to come to our senses. It is time to stretch out the hand of national accord, remembering that only accord is constructive and discord is always destructive; it is destructive and entails catastrophies. And it becomes increasingly difficult to live in discord.

LECH WALESA GIVES INTERVIEW TO AL-MUSTAQBAL

JN251248 Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 24 Oct 81 pp 12-14

[AL-MUSTAQBAL corresponsdent Antoine 'Abd al-Masih interview with Poland's Lech Walesa in Paris on 16 October]

[Text] [Question] Shall we begin?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] What does the Polish workers union Solidarity want? What are its demands?

[Answer] Our demands are many and were made a long time ago. We began stating them in August 1980. They are many and there is no room to mention them now. There are, however, 21 demands. We are now working to achieve them as they will safeguard our civil rights. The events which took place in August will never be repeated.

[Question] Do you believe that the Polish issue is moving toward a crisis that may result in a popular revolution or, on the contrary, is it moving toward the abrogation of Solidarity's role?

[Answer] I believe that the demands we have issued, some of which are already being implemented and which have caused a radical change, together with the demands we shall call for later will force all the parties to learn a lesson if they wish to. We cannot force anyone to go along with us or turn against us. In view of the huge communications potentials that exist in the world today -- radio, television and the press -- we hope to find many good systems that will be suitable for us and that will be formulated for us by wise people and by those who are specialized in doing so.

[Question] The West views the Soviet Union as your principal adversary. Do you also?

[Answer] Actually, I do not know. Whether East or West. Each has its own interests and calculations. I do believe, however, that one should ask why the West views matters in this manner and why does it view events in this light? For our part, we support the position which calls for restoring things to their normal state in our country, including work in factories and enterprises. This is what concerns us. It is our duty to get things back to normal because it is possible and within our reach. This is the least we can do, isn't it?

[Question] Some time ago, you won the battle for the moderates inside Solidarity. What do the extremists in Solidarity want?

[Answer] In my opinion, it is unwise for us to accept being divided into several groups: radicals, moderates, communists, socialists, capitalists and so forth. I believe that this division of Solidarity is a wrong concept. On the contrary, I believe that we must resort to simple concepts of differentiation. One must differentiate between good conduct and bad conduct. I personally prefer to make a distinction among several known and definite trends. In so doing, we can become more radical in our struggle to make these trends more clear, realistic, stronger. I insist on looking at these matters from this angle.

[Question] Is it true that Pope John Paul II was the first to support your demands and to inform you that the United States supports you politically?

[Answer] No, I have the impression that such criteria do not apply to us. I would like to mention here that we the Polish people have suffered from the suppression of public liberties, for the sake of which many of us have been persecuted. We are the ones who have suffered the results of the bad economic policy. We are the ones who have lived through the impossibility of achieving any changes in our country. That is why we have become more determined to wage the battle for important, radical and effective changes and to emerge from the vicious circle which we previously were living in. It goes without saying that the pope was glad that a country in which they try to spread atheism continues to have a people who have faith. The pope's support for us is commensurate with the faith, truth and nobility we demonstrate. These are the qualities of our movement.

[Question] Sometimes, Solidarity seems to have a Catholic nature or appearance. During your demonstrations and protests, crosses are brandished and men of religion appear in the forefront. Is there any relation between Solidarity and the Polish Church?

[Answer] This is a good question which completes what we said before. Our problem is that all our organizations and institutions and all that we have achieved in the past have lost their genuine characteristics. We have reached a stage where we neither trust the party, the government or even ourselves. As a result of all this, we are desperately in need of having faith in something and organizing ourselves within a society which upholds values and ideals. Since all through our history and during difficult circumstances, we have stuck to our faith in God and consequently to the Catholic Church which has always supported us, the cross has become to us, as it always was to our ancestors, a symbol in which we have great faith.

[Question] There are rumors in the Arab world of Arab assistance for Solidarity. Is this true? And do you wish to obtain Arab economic assistance?

[Answer] It is very kind of you to consider such a possibility. What I would like to refer to, however, is that we need to settle our situation inside our country, that is to implement the new economic course that has been agreed on and to have this apparatus, that is Poland, work in an efficient manner.

When we realize that we have reached a good self-administration, then we can be sure that past mistakes will never be repeated and we will not be in need of economic assistance from abroad in order to start and reach a stage of faster development for our economy. Naturally if somebody (meaning the Soviet Union) refuses to supply us with oil we will have to look for it somewhere else where there is oil. Of course, I hope that we will not reach such a situation. I think that it is in everyone's interest that we should cooperate and help each other.

[Question] What of the talked about French mediation between you and the Soviet Union? Is this the aim behind your visit to France?

[Answer] It might be and then it might not. Personally I do not know any kind of direct mediation. What is more, we should take care of our personal affairs. However, we would be pleased if somebody were to work for the development and growth of friendly relations with us because this would give us reassurance in a way. All this is very beautiful but I do not admit that such an aim is behind my visit.

[Question] Would you accept an invitation to visit the United States?

[Answer] This has already taken place: The Americans have in fact invited me and I will go within a month.

[Question] You said that you wanted to "choose" your friends and that you will painstakingly try not to let anybody help you against your wish. What is the criterion you use in choosing your friends and who is imposing his help on you?

[Answer] In any relation whether it is a dialogue or friendship there must at least be two parties. A relation is established mainly on the possibility of giving and on trust. This relation cannot be fulfilled except through frankness and good will from both parties. Therefore, all pressures must be eliminated.

Concluding our statement that we wanted to choose our friends, this is a warning so that nobody, not even flying saucers, can force us to accept friendship that is not frank (meaning the Soviet Union). Since we are stubborn, we are afraid to fight each other. However, because we are determined to confront and triumph, even if we pay a high price, others will also pay the price. At present I do not see any volunteers to confront us.

BRATKOWSKI CITED ON MOSCOW-SOLIDARITY CONTACTS

LD242058 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 1930 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] The Polish independent trade union Solidarity has unofficial contacts with Moscow. This was stated by Polish trade unionist Stefan Bratkowski to our Moscow correspondent Carlos Fino:

[Begin recording] [Carlos Fino] Although the fact is not altogether new, its confirmation is nevertheless important. Albeit under some confidentiality, there are concacts between the Polish social and political opposition in Solidarity and Moscow. At least this is what I was told here in Moscow by Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists, an essayist, writer and a moderate intellectual who enjoys great prestige in his country. Stefan Bratkowski, who has just been expelled from the PZPR, the Polish Communist Party, for refusing to leave Solidarity, has come to the USSR at the head of a large delegation of Polish journalists to attend the Ninth Congress of the International Organization of Journalists held here in Moscow 19 through 22 October. His presence here after being expelled from the Polish Communist Party is in itself a remarkable event. When I put to Stefan Bratkowski the inevitable question of whether or not -- or to what extent -- the Russians pose a problem to Poland, this is what he replied:

[Bratowski, in English fading to superimposed Portugese translation] You must remember that the Russians are able and skillful politicians, and they know the situation very well. I have had conversations with many people here in Moscow, including officials close to the Central Committee, and I can tell you that they are well informed. Of course they do not understand many things in Poland because it is a question of different cultures, traditions and so on. They want to understand, and this seems to me to be the most important thing. The situation is totally different from previous crises in the bloc. It is not easy for the Russians, and they want to find solutions, first and foremost their own solutions, of course. But they are not preparing to do what they did before. They are earnest in their approach and we can expect of them the kind of skillful and careful policy of which they are capable. They have a serious view of this problem.

SOLIDARITY CONCEPT OF 'SELF-GOVERNED POLAND' HIT

LD231516 Warsaw PAP in English 1429 GMT 23 Oct 81

["Solidarity's Conception on Self-Governed Poland" -- PAP headline; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- "Publication by Solidarity of its conception on 'self-governed Poland', said ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, is not a declaration of cooperation or the union's intended share in the elaboration and implementation of the programme of reform and democratization. Underlying that conception is total negation of the programme worked out by the party and the government.

The present political and state leadership is blamed for all mistakes and misconduct of the previous governing teams. Both kinds of propaganda and agitation activity serve a dual purpose. First, to demonstrate the indolence of all the country's previous ruling teams and, second, to show that the blame lies with the incorrectness and deficiency of the socialist system of government and organisation of the society. The aim of that agitation is at the same time gradually to impress on social consciousness the conviction that the to-date system of authority needs replacing with a new one.

Proceeding from that assumption, the first Solidarity congress adopted a new conception of the socio-political system in Poland perceiving its implementation as the union's strategic aim. The objective sought is to establish in Poland a new formula of authority as well as socio-political and economic organisation of the society defined as 'self-governed Poland'. Leaving alone the demagogy and inconsistency of the conception, the thing to remember is that its basic assumptions are in flagrant contradiction not only to the socialist principles of people's rule and the leading role of the party, but also contradict the union's proclaimed striving toward democracy, equality and political pluralism. The point is that the 'self-governed Poland' would not be self-governed at all. It would be a poltical creation ensuring Solidarity or, strictly speaking, its leading organs of full and absolute power."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI said in conclusion: "The directives for conclusion of a new social agreement 'for self-governed Poland' set out in the programme resolution must be interpreted as unequivocal striving toward sanctioning a political programme of a takeover of power and, also, of a new formula of the socio-political system based on the indivisibility of Solidarity's power. The idea is to win agreement on the takeover of power in our country involving a peaceful from-above and groundswell process of dismantling and replacing legal institutions of power.

The proposal of a new social agreement on a 'self-governed Poland' must be treated as a programme of action unequivocally contradicting, of course, apart from planned unionist activity, the existing constitutional, legal order, as a scheme to take over a power."

SOLIDARITY SHOULD 'SHARE RESPONSIBILITY'

LD231808 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- "Evaluating the current situation one can hardly be optimistic. On the one hand, Solidarity has so far been unwilling to join in the dialogue and by so doing take a share of responsibility for the developments in the country," said TRYBUNA LUDU today.

The daily continued: "Participation in political life entails political and social responsibility towards the nation and readiness to shoulder that responsibility. But Solidarity leadership is unwilling to acknowledge that truth.

"Actions by Solidarity to counter the recently stepped up anti-party and anti-Soviet campaign, at least because of ethical considerations and mindful of international repercussions so unfavorable for Poland, would go a long way towards reaching agreement. At stake are the vital interests of the motherland as regards relations with a friend, partner and a powerful neighbour. The idea is to condemn hostile and disgusting acts.

"It is time to make things perfectly clear. Only those social forces which not only do [words indistinct] real socialism in Poland, for this would be far too little, but which draw logical conclusions from that absence of negotiations and oppose anti-Soviet excesses or propagation of anti-communist philosophy can be no agreement with those who question the leading role of the communist party in the society only to reach out for power themselves. The verbal 'pro' and 'contra' towards socialism is not the only criterion of the will of reaching agreement. Bearing this in mind, it will be easier to draw a line between the leaders of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and Confederation of Independent Poland from the working class base of the union."

The front of national agreement and cooperation, says the resolution of the 4th PUWP CC Plenum, should be widely opened for all who are not against socialism and want actively to work for the motherland. This conception does not signify unity at all cost, which would be only a screen for our opponents. It must be a unity based both on the desire to attain social agreement and on renunciation of opposition towards the authority and the socio-political system and towards the workers' party which is the political representation of the working people. For today, these are the limits and the only platform for the dialogue, concluded TRYBUNA LUDU.

AGREEMENT REACHED AT WARSAW MEDICAL ACADEMY

LD240945 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] An agreement has been reached as a result of negotiations conducted at the Warsaw Medical Academy between the management of the academy on one side and young people and their parents on the other. The agreement ends the sit-in stated for more than 3 weeks in the rector's office by candidate students who passed their entrance examinations but who were not accepted because of a lack of places. The agreement provides for a preparatory course for all candidates preparing them for next year's entrance examinations, employment at various academic centers for those who wish it or help in finding employment at health service centers, and it places the academy under the obligation to apply for a postponement of military service for candidates preparing their entrance examinations next year.

Although the sit-ins have ended at all medical academies in the country, there are still some problems. Parents of students at the Bialystok academy have announced that they will start proceedings in the administrative court and in Wroc[illegible], where the independent students' union is conducting mediation, the requests and po[illegible]tes of young people have been sent to the academy authroities and the ministry.

BRANCH TRADE UNIONS DEMAND 'FIRM ACTION,' UNITY

LD240936 Warsaw PAP in English 0830 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- The Executive Committee of the Branch Trade Unions National Cooperation Commission gathered at its first session today, the worker information agency has reported.

The session, presided over by Eugeniusz Mielnicki, chairman of the Cooperation Commission, was devoted to an evaluation of the current socio-political and economic situation in Poland.

Members of the Executive Committee demanded that the government ensure food supplies for towns.

The Executive Committee published a declaration in which it presented its stand on the current political situation in Poland.

"In conditions of the deepening crisis, the very foundations of our national existence are in a real danger. We are on the verge of a national disaster. The complexity and the gravity of the present situation call for immediate and firm action by all patriots.

"In concordance with the resolution of the first assembly of representatives of Branch Trade Unions, we demand immediate establishment of a mixed commission comprising representatives of political parties, trade unions and other socio-political and religious organizations. In the present situation, agreement and cooperation of all patriotic forces are necessary," says the declaration.

GENERALS APPOINTED TO MINISTRIES, CITIZENS' MILITIA

LD231910 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Prof (Wieslaw) Sadowski to the position of deputy plenipotentiary for matters of economic reform, with the status of undersecretary of state in the Council of Ministers.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers has also appointed Major Gen Stanislaw Zaczkowski to the position of undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, at the same time recalling him from the position of chief commander of the Citizens' Militia. The premier appointed Major Gen Jozef Bejm to the position of chief commander of the Citizens' Militia.

SEJM TO MEET 30 OCT; JARUZELSKI TO SPEAK

LD231556 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] It has been decided to convene the 17th session of the Sejm on 30 October.

On the agenda: a speech by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski; a government report on the implementation of the socioeconomic plan and budget in the current year and the initial assumptions of the plan for the coming year, with particular reference to the situation in the coal and power industries; a first reading of the government bill on the teacher's charter, and deputies question time.

ARMY, PZPR PAPERS DEMAND END TO ANARCHY

LD231456 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 23 Oct 81

["Anarchy and Lawlessness Must End" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- The Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today demanded an end be put to anarchy and disrespect for law in Poland. A TRYBUNA LUDU article, pointing to a dangerous scenario pursued by the anti-socialist forces in Poland, struck a similar note.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote:

"The country is in danger, it is threatened by the West's aggressive militaristic circles which want to exploit the Polish crisis to wrest Poland from the community of the socialist states. No doubt, their actions are closely attuned to the aspirations and objectives pursued by the anti-socialist groups which have been stepping up their actions in many important sectors of our country's life. They openly sow confusion and anarchy and, at every step, assail the authorities, the public order services and the Armed Forces.

"All this is the outcome of a climate of lawlessness lingering within the society. Lawlessness is what the anti-socialist forces aim to achieve through their deliberately perfidious actions.

"The causative factor of the dangers are the anti-socialist elements and groups set up by the leftovers from the old social system, the continuators and heirs to Poland's prewar regime, hotly supported with funds and inspired by the intelligence centres of Western powers which specialize in political subversion and which have staked on Poland this time."

The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU said that "the men whom we have used to describe as extreme forces, have passed on to open provocative actions.

"It is not accidental that they have escalated tension just right now, on the heels of the 4th PUWP CC full session, which reaffirmed the unshakable will to concord, to put the situation in Poland into an order which would help take constructive actions out of the crisis. Who wants it then? To find an answer it is sufficient to attentively hear the voices of the most radical politickers who use the cover of 'Solidarity,' the voices amplified by the loudspeakers that have resounded in the streets of Katowice and Wroclaw."

The daily said that firm constitutional counteractions which the party leadership has authorized the government to use, are in the interest of the whole society.

"Such firm actions obviously go against those who want to seize upon chaos and anarchy for their chance -- how different and shallow when compared with the chance of the nation. That's why they seek to drown out the party's appeal...to ensure that the party fails to come to an understanding with the working class."

In a related comment TRYBUNA LUDU took issue with the tenor and content of recent articles published by the Pax association daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE and with what it described as "a glaring tone of negation" evident in a recent interview granted for the daily by the Pax association chairman.

It wrote in this connection: "The fuelling of the moods of inconfidence [as received] in the authority...certainly fails to serve the promotion of concord and explanation of its socio-political platform."

PLANS TO PUBLISH BALANCE OF PAYMENTS NOTED

LD241320 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- In response to numerous public demands, the Polish Ministry of Finance decided to annually publish the country's balance of payments.

It has been agreed with the Main Statistics Office (GUS) that the balance of payments will be published in the Statistical Yearbook beginning from this year and in the Financial Yearbook. Quarterly performance will be published by the National Polish Bank.

The Ministry of Finance presented the press with a report on "Poland's Balance of Payments in the Years 1971-80" which states that the total Polish debt was estimated to be equal to some 24 billion dollars.

The report also indicates some of the reasons for such a significant indebtedness. In the initial period, the growing of the annual trade turnover deficit was primarily due to excessive investment and related purchases of capital equipment. Gradually however the growing food import was also becoming an increasing strain on the balance of payments. Such were the effects of an erroneous economic and social policy, expressed in the failure to intensify agricultural production and the need for subsequent economies after repeated bad harvests.

In the nine first months of the current year, Poland's revenues from export to the West dropped from 10,700 million foreign exchange zlotys (5,600 million dollars) year ago to 14,200 million, i.e. by nearly 25 percent, the Finance Ministry informed. Simultaneously, the expenditure on import in the same area dropped from 20,500 million to 16,800 million.

The agreements concluded with the creditor countries and Western banks created prospects for temporarily relieving Poland's balance of payments of the burden of repaying the credits or interest dues. A further decline of export can however rule out the chances for implementing the agreements signed with the creditors.

Poland's balance of payments with the socialist states has also been deteriorating over the past decade. After the first nine months of 1981, the total trade turnover deficit peaked a record of 3,800 million exchange zlotys. The socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in the lead, have aided Poland to overcome its economic difficulties by providing it with additional deliveries of goods, thus providing funds to help the crisis-ridden Poland.

Of the total debt of over 24 billion dollars, some 2 billion dollars is owed to the socialist states.

MINISTRY REPORTS ON SATURDAY COAL EXTRACTION

LD241408 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Oct 81

[By unidentified correspondent in Katowice -- recorded]

[Excerpts] Despite the free Saturday, work continues in the hard coal mines. Many miners, who understand how very necessary coal is to our country, voluntarily came to work. The Ministry of Mining and Power Industry states in a special communique that 65.8 percent of the morning shift's miners came to work -- obviously this figure is compared with the first shift on a week day. This is a 10 percent increase over last Saturday. Let us also say that more miners would have come to work if the mines had the opportunity to employ them. Our attention was drawn to this fact by, among others, the director of the General Zawadzki mine.

If one thinks that there is preferential treatment for the miners who do additional work, one has to have opportunities for this treatment not simply to remain on paper -- to say nothing of the fact that there is a shortage of machines, installations, spare parts and materials which after all are not produced in mines. For example, that is why the director of the General Zawadzki mine told us that as many miners came to work as he could provide work work for. Thus there is one reason why coal extraction on free Saturdays is as it is and not otherwise. Every inhabitant of our country must understand this.

The second cause is no less important. The atmosphere in mining does not favor work on free Saturdays. The Solidarity union is maintaining its decision to suspend the free Saturdays action, which represents an expression of protest against the presently binding Council of Ministers Resolution No 199. It is officially stated in both statements and documents of Solidarity that the decision to work is for each miner to make individually. However, the resolutions adopted at the Solidarity meetings in nearly every mine appeal for people not to come to work. For many who observe union discipline, this is binding. Then there are those -- and there are more and more of them -- who, grasping the needs of our economy, have decided not to wait with folded hands. Many Solidarity members were among those who came to work today. The Ministry of Mining communique states, and I quote, that miners' work participation would be great were it not for the Solidarity chapter boycott of Saturday work and the Solidarity chapters' boycott of enterprises which take people to work.

As confirmation, take the example of the General Zawadzki mine to which I have already referred. Today 23 persons came to work in the sorting plant; 11 stayed. In the railway section, a dozen or so people came to work; 3 remained. This happened [word indistinct] following an explanation made to these sections this morning by Solidarity. The explanation concerned the fact that the miners working above ground are not yet fully enjoying the preferences in additional food supply that are enjoyed by miners underground. No one, not even the chairman of the Council of Ministers, has stated that Resolution No 199 cannot be changed if there is a need or if a better solution is found. However, it is strange that trifling doubts sometimes lead directly to work stoppage. Quite the reverse. The Council of Ministers stated that it will accept every proposition which increases coal extraction on Saturdays. But how? At the moment there are no such propositions from this side.

MINING ACCIDENT IN ZABRZE UNDER INVESTIGATION

LD241632 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Summary from poor reception] A press spokesman from the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry reports that an explosion of methane gas occurred at the Zabrze colliery in Zabrze at about 1030 this morning. The explosion was caused by welding activity connected with the assembling of loading machines at a newly commissioned department of the mine. The explosion killed seven miners and injured one. A special commission set up by the chairman of the higher [wyzszy] mining office and the Ministry and headed by the deputy chairman of the higher [wyzszy] mining office, Mieczyslaw (Piatek), is investigating the exact causes and circumstances of the accident.

MINISTER COMMENTS ON SOAP, OTHER SHORTAGE

LD251538 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Our program will soon be ending and it will soon be time to wash our hands before lunch. It is almost lunchtime, but there is not much soap or toiletries to be had, unfortunately. In the studio is Deputy Minister of the Chemical Industry Wieslaw [name indistinct].

[Wieslaw [name indistinct]] the production level reached in July was the lowest in the history of the industry. I will give examples: We produced only about 42 tons of tooth-paste; we produced 10,000 tons of washing powders and not quite 3,000 tons of soap.

[Question] How much does the Pollena cosmetics factory cost you per day, that is to say, the ministry and all of us?

[Answer] We have to spend at the moment Z20 million foreign exchange per month in order to reach full production capacity; that is [word indistinct] million a month. That has happened and so, in the month of September, the production level of articles like washing powder, soap, shampoo, toothpaste, shaving cream was raised to the level of and even higher than at the same time last year, that is [words indistinct] of the month of September. The forecast I have at the moment, up to the end of the year, is optimistic, because the sources of supply for that industry are guaranteed, in the sense of payments and material supplies. So, one can say that the level reached will be higher than last year. Of course, the question arises whether this will satisfy the market, and in what period? In my opinion, one can put forward the thesis -- particularly regarding washing powders, because of their rationing, because the production level is higher than current needs emerging from the rationing -- [passage indistinct]. But because the packages are (?multiples) of the standards in force under the ration system, my view is that meeting the demand [word indistinct] supplies to the whole country of washing powder should occur at the end of November, definitely December and (?we shouldn't have) any great problems. Will we be able to do away with rationing? I will be completely frank that the standard of 300 grams of washing powder per month and 500 grams for the Katowice, Krakow and Walbrzych Voivodships is not high; we must therefore make an effort to increase production still more.

[Question] Are you going to persuade Minister Lakomiec to increase the soap allocation? One bar of soap for 2 months is almost grotesque.

[Answer] I agree with you. As soon as there is a slight improvement in reserves and normal rotational conditions between the enterprise and the trade are created, I think that [words indistinct].

GLEMP HOMILY APPEALS FOR TRUST, SINCERITY

LD252304 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Oct (PAP) -- Poland's Primate Archbishop Jozef Glemp today attended the inaugural ceremony of the new academic year at the Catholic University in Lublin.

The primate delivered a homily in which he referred to the Polish crisis. He said that the crisis is largely due to the discord between the proclaimed ideas and everyday practice. It is necessary to liquidate this dissonance and to achieve that there must be an atmosphere of sincerity and trust which can be created only after the reasons of all sides are heard. The need is for a new programme, a new vision of the world based on the proven foundations of truth and love.

BARCIKOWSKI ATTENDS POZNAN REPORT-BACK CONFERENCE

Skrzypczak Speech

LD241112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Delegates elected to the PZPR voivodship report-back and election conference which took place in June in Poznan and ninth extraordinary party congress delegates have met today in Vielkopolska, capital of Poznan, for the second programmatic part of the voivodship conference.

Its aim is to analyze and approve the party's socioeconomic program in Poznan Voivodship up to 1983, to adopt directions of inner-party work and to assess the so-called account-settling process regarding those people who violated party statutory norms and legal regulations.

Taking part in the conference deliberations is Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary.

Opening the debate Edward Skrzypczak, first secretary of the Poznan Voivodship Party Committee, drew attention to the country's constantly worsening economic situation and the (?attacks) by political opponents against the attempts being made to stabilize the country's crisis situation.

The time for discussion is past, he said. Now it is time for action, firm attitudes and honest work. The work forces in Poznan factories are an example of this: Despite the general difficulties, they have not gone on strike for 6 months, and in 9 months Poznan farmers have sold the state 105 percent of the planned deliveries of meat.

Former Leaders Expelled

LD250308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The second part of the voivodship party report-back and election conference, which began in June, was held in Poznan.

Participants in the Poznan conference adopted several resolutions, including the voivodship socioeconomic program of the PZPR until 1983. Disapproval for the decisions of the Solidarity National Commission on the issue of a general strike was expressed in a special resolution. Solidarity's decision is recognized in this document as an act of political struggle against the PZPR. An appeal was made to working people not to participate in the announced strike.

Participants in the conference decided to expel from party ranks Jerzy Zasadas, former first secretary of the voivodship committee of the PZPR in Poznan, and former secretaries of the voivodship committee Bogdan Waligorski, Jozef Scibisz, Czeslaw Galgan and Jozef Switaj, for violating statutes and legal norms. The former Poznan voivoda, Stanislaw Cozas, was also expelled from party ranks.

Barcikowski Speech

LD260012 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Oct (PAP) -- Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, spoke at the Poznan Voivodship Party Conference which took place on 24 October and which adopted, in particular, the PZPR socioeconomic program for Poznan Voivodship up to 1983.

"There is much talk in Poland today about the crisis, and indeed it is a fact, but the mere stating of the fact leads to nothing," said the Central Committee secretary. "We often deepen that crisis ourselves, getting reconciled as it were, to passive expectance and powerlessness. That is dangerous; such moods paralyze people. Such a stance must be rejected. We must seek ways out of the crisis.

"Are there such ways? Are there such possibilities? I am deeply convinced there are, for Poland's national property has not been reduced, and there are still places to work and work to be done. Polish soil has not become poorer in raw materials or in minerals, nor has it become less fertile. The number of people capable of working and the number of young and educated people has not diminished. Obviously we have various difficulties in our balance of payments and we cannot today buy everything we want abroad. However, an actual improvement depends on our (?will), on our determination for action to improve the situation."

"If we bring ourselves to launch a concerted effort," said Barcikowski, "we shall begin getting out of the depression, for the good of ourselves and our families. To unite the social forces in order to overcome the difficulties it is necessary to surmount the political crisis which saps the strength of our nation and paralyzes action."

Barcikowski went on: "It is known that the party has carried out a tough evaluation and criticism of the mistakes of the past and formulated conclusions for the future. But this criticism activated forces which negate everything, dictate a direction towards ana.chization and destruction of life, which consciously shun responsibility for the state and take advantage of every new series of tensions to lash out at the socialist system. This is why these forces are a threat to peace and security. What is most dangerous is that these forces wield influence on the Solidarity masses -- the working people, the working class. These forces, so to speak, are inventors of a curious conception which holds that through strikes, the fall and growing disorganization of production and public life, a change of political situation in the country can be achieved. A change, obviously, in their favor. Whether this change will be in the interests of the working people is another question. Obviously, their true aim is not the people's interests but the implementation of their own aims by means of an explosion of social dissatisfaction.

"The favorite ploy used by Solidarity propagandists is the charge that the government is inefficient. Also the general strike scheduled for Wednesday is said to be a protest against the government's alleged ineptitude. This raises the question" Can the strike improve the government's ability to operate? This is pure perfidy, for every constructive action of the government last year was either blocked or protested against.

"The party is being accused of having no program. This is a lie. A program was worked out by the Ninth PZPR Congress and then approved by the Sejm. But it takes at least a minimum amount of understanding and support for the program to work. "When debatable problems occur it is necessary to sit at a common table and agree on viewpoints so that they could be jointly put into effect. However, according to the rules of the game devised by Solidarity leaders, every proposal for cooperation has strings attached to it which amount to political demands for a change of Poland's political orientation and her alliances. Worth noting is the silence with which the Solidarity propaganda surrounds the crimes against the Polish nation committed by Hitlerite fascism, while expounding definite historical resentments intended to incite anti-Soviet moods. The truth is that the money so readily accepted by Solidarity flows precisely from anticommunist agencies. As is known, nobody gets money for nothing. One has to pay back and this payment is expected to be in the form of an appropriate political posture, weakening of the forces of socialism and anti-Sovietism," said Barcikowski.

"The timely question is: Where is this going to take us as a state and a nation? Would any honest man want Poland to become the object of a showdown between international forces? This has already happened in the past.

"The time has come to draw the appropriate conclusions and to move onto a realistic basis. At the fourth plenum the party once again confirmed its political readiness to cooperate with all the forces which base themselves on socialism. In accordance with this, at the present time the expansion of the (?formula) of the Front for National Unity and increasing its role in the country's sociopolitical life is being discussed. A statement has been made to the effect that changes will be made in the composition of the government, working toward the creation of coalition [words indistinct] basing themselves on socialism. W. Jaruzelski has also proposed the creation of a consultative body under the Council of Ministers which will include specialists from various [words indistinct]. In a word, we want to talk with everyone and [word indistinct] toward agreement with all, but on the basis of socialism.

"Another matter strongly [word indistinct] in the fourth Central Committee resolution is the need for effective counteraction to all demands and undertakings of the enemies of socialism, their strivings to put themselves above the law. Therefore, appropriate state services will strive to enforce public law and order. We shall not abstain from any method envisaged by the Constitution to safeguard the socialist legal order.

"[Word indistinct] we are in favor of widely understood self-management, and we want to follow this path decisively, at the ninth congress we put forward a program of changes, and we confirm this program in its entirety.

"We do not intend to step back, but we should know that the more confidently we tread the path or reform the more swiftly the party will reestablish its strength. One of the most important things today is the influx of confidence in the party's strength, for this will mean the strengthening of its ability to act. The party's strength, however, does not grow in one place, in its central links. It must take shape in all its organizations and departments, thanks to all members of the PZPR. In Poland the future belongs to socialism and to the PZPR, the leading force of socialism. Anyone who does not understand this or does not want to understand it, said K. Barcikowski in conclusion, is making a grave and unforgivable mistake.

More on Barcikowski Speech

LD252216 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 25 Oct (PAP) -- The Poznan Voivodship Party Conference on October 24 analyzed and approved the PUWP socio-economic programme for the Poznan Voivodship up to the year 1983, mapped out directions of work inside the party and assessed progress of the so-called accountability process involving persons who infringed the party statutory norms and legal rules. The conference was attended by member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Opening the conference First Secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee Edward Skrzypczak said, inter alia: "Time for discussion has passed. Now it is the time for action, determined postures and honest work. Examples are given by crews of Poznan works enterprises who, in spite of the known difficulties, have not struck for half a year now, and also by Poznan farmers who during the first nine months of this year sold the state 105 percent of the planned deliveries of livestock."

Taking the floor at the end of the discussion, Kazimierz Barcikowski said that improvement of the situation and overcoming the crisis depended on the will and determined action of the people. "If we bring ourselves to launching a concerted effort, said Barcikowski, we shall begin getting out of the depression, for the good of ourselves and our families. To unite the social forces in order to overcome the difficulties it is necessary to surmount the political crisis sapping the strength of our nation and paralizing action."

The country is in the grip of a successive wave of strikes. They stem from local conflicts but threaten to turn into a nation-wide conflict. The most curious thing is that, judging by conversations with the strikers, they do not know themselves what the strike is all about. Another astonishing thing is that the strikers are in a carefree mood, as if it were a picnic. So why, then, are they striking? Quite simply, an order has come from ambitious leaders who use blackmail or threats to enforce obedience. Must this be so? For the sake of ambition of those people must the crews be deprived of their own will?" the speaker asked.

"Of course this is not the way it can and must be," Barcikowski went on. "It is important for the people to realize that and to sober up. Our task in turn is to act so that this understanding comes as quickly as possible, in time to save the country from even greater losses and moral damage.

There is much talk now about responsiblity. But there are various kinds of responsibilities. There is responsibility for what happened up to August 1980, and for this the party has taken responsibility and is now giving account to the nation. But there is also responsibility for what happened after August, for all that Solidarity did to aggravate the crisis and what it did not do to overcome the crisis. It is in this light that the 4th CC plenum should be evaluated. At the plenum the party reaffirmed political opening for cooperation with all forces supporting socialism.

Another matter strongly [word indistinct] in the 4th CC plenum resolution is the need for effective counteraction to all demands and undertakings of the enemies of socialism, their strivings to put themselves above the law.

Therefore, appropriate state services will strive to enforce public law and order. We shall not abstain from any methods envisaged by the Constitution to safeguard the socialist legal order.

In Poland, the future belongs to socialism, to the Polish United Workers Party -- the leading force of Socialism. Whoever is unaware of it or refuses to recognize this commits a grave inexcusable error," said Barcikowski in conclusion.

VOIVODSHIP PARTY COMMITTEES HOLD PLENUMS

Problems Discussed

LD231458 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] As we have already reported, plenary sessions of PZPR voivodship committees are being held today in Tarnobrzeg. Problems linked with the place, role and tasks of party organizations and party members in the reformed self-managing state enterprise are primarily being examined. After a report on the subject by the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship PZPR Committee secretary, Jerzy Baranski, a discussion began. Politburo member and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski is taking part in the session.

In Rzeszow, deliberations are focusing on the expansion of market production, building construction and agriculture.

In Bialystok, there is discussion of the tasks of the voivodship party organization after the PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum. An assessment of the ideopolitical and organizational status of the party has been announced.

Barcikowski Addresses Plenum

LD240916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] In Tarnobrzeg the PZPR voivodship committee met in plenary session. Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, took part in the deliberations. The topic for debate was to have been the role and tasks of the party organizations and members of the party in the reformed, self-managing, independent state enterprise. But a proposal was submitted to the effect that in connection with the critical sociopolitical situation in the voivodship, caused by the declaration of a general strike in most factories, the plenum should formulate its stance on this important issue. The deliberations show that the members of the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship party organization are following with increasing disquiet the deepening sociopolitical and economic crisis, both in the region and in the country. The plenum's participants express the view that without help from social activists the party apparatus is not and will not be capable of fulfilling the tasks facing it. They also state that the current criticism of the party is directed not against its program but against the methods of implementing it. Speaking during the discussion, Kazimierz Barcikowski said that the main condition for resolving all the accumulated problems is the restoration of the principles of observing the law and respecting the government's decisions.

In the afternoon Kazimierz Barcikowski went to Stalowa Wola for a meeting with party, economic and social activists. He outlined the main elements of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum debate. He also answered questions. Much attention was given to problems linked with the tense social situation in the country and in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship.

Politburo Members at Plenums

LD230940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Excerpts] In the party organizations throughout the country successive meetings are taking place, devoted to discussing the results of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. Resolutions and decisions are being passed, approving the Central Committee stance regarding the country's situation.

In Jastrzebie a meeting has taken place between the party aktiv from the town's mining works with Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. The open, and sincere, discussion is concentrated around the situation and the party's tasks following the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. Many of the issues raised during its course also concern matters specific to mining circles. The party aktiv tries to convey in full the difficult problems of concern to the mining workforces, connected with the extraction of coal, so needed by the country, (?also) the conditions of work and life of the miners.

In Stalowa Wola a meeting took place today between the party, economic and social aktiv of the industrial combine of the Stalowa Wola steelworks and Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

The meeting took place on the day when the steelworks workforce was on strike as declared by the Solidarity regional strike committee of Sandomierz region. This had an obvious influence on the temperature of the meeting and the problems raised by the discussion participants. A critical stance was adopted to those party comrades, Solidarity members who, despite the earlier decision by the party organization for party members not to join the strike, undertook protest action.

There were demands for the decisive consolidation of the party, consistent counteraction by the government against acts of lawlessness, an improvement in the supplies by the activation of the socialized and private sector, for information to be made credible, and for respect for the national emblem and colors. The prevailing opinion was that without diligent, hard work we will achieve nothing; and that strikes can only deepen the crisis. Kazimierz Barcikowski expressed his attitude toward the problems raised and replied to many questions.

Zbigniew Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, was invited to a meeting of the executives of the party works committees from three Katowice metalworks: Baildon, Ferrum and the Szopienice nonferrous metalworks. The meeting took place in the third works. The discussion and the questions put to Zbigniew Messner concerned primarily the party's tasks following the Fourth Central Committee Plenum.

In Lodz there was a meeting between party members from the textile department of the Lodz Polytechnic and Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz party committee. Speaking of the situation in the party and of the need to unite all healthy forces of the nation, Tadeusz Czechowicz stated that there will be no economic stabilization unless there is political stabilization. And in order to fully regain its credibility in the community, the party must finish purging itself from compromised and passive people and bring about a self-definition of all members of the party.

Czyrek at Rzeszow Plenum

LD230918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] The PZPR voivodship committees also met in plenary session today in Bialystok and Rzeszow. In Bialystok there was discussion of the tasks of the voivodship party organization following the Fourth Central Committee Plenum.

An assessment was also made of the party's ideopolitical and organizational state. Reports by the inner-party and ideological commissions and a report on the state of the party in Bialystok Voivodship were the starting point for the discussion. The evaluation contained in these documents is not optimistic. It was found that there is a weakening of the ideological and organizational links in basic party organizations. In many echelons the work methods have not been adapted to the requirements of the new democratic statute. It was stressed in the discussion that party members must take an ideological decision and that resolute action must be taken against the negative political and economic phenomena occurring in our country.

The Rzeszow plenum discussed matters concerning the extension of market production. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and foreign minister, and Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Central Committee Auditing Commission, took part in the deliberations. Although the topic of the plenum was economic matters, much was said about the sociopolitical situation of the country and the voivodship, with reference to the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. It was stated that that plenum's resolutions create the appropriate conditions for determined and effective action by the party.

Today's plenum in Rzeszow was divided into two parts. Thirty-nine teams have been set up, which are to acquaint themselves directly in factories with the current sociopolitical and economic situation and also to obtain an idea of the possibilities for extending market production and agricultural production. The recommendations of the teams will be presented in the second part of the plenum, envisaged for the beginnning of November.

KUBIAK MEETS WITH PARTY MEMBERS AT UNIVERSITY

Subject of Discussion

LD240853 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] In the assembly hall of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow a meeting between the party organization of the educational institution and Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, is being held. The subject of the discussion is the tasks for party organizations resulting from the documents of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum. In his speech, Hieronim Kubiak stated that at the present moment the party will not give away power but will only broaden joint participation in the wielding of power.

More of Kubiak Comments

LD242185 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Oct (PAP) -- At a meeting with the members of the PUWP organization at the Jagellonian University in Krakow yesterday, Political Bureau member and CC secretary, Professor Hieronim Kubiak said, inter alia, that the Poles "have reached the limits of individual and social endurance."

"The diagnoses we made at the 9th party congress," Professor Kubiak stated, "were correct. However, the time it took the party to find a programme it could present to the society and implement it together with it so as to bring theoretical (?socialism) closer to the practical one was too long."

"We also let ourselves be caught in the trap of rationing," the CC secretary said, "becoming more and more convinced that it was the sphere of distribution and not the production that was responsible for the shortcomings of Polish economy.

"New processes in the party have come to the fore," Professor Kubiak (?continued). The moods within it are becoming increasingly radical.

"In the party, similarly as within the Solidarnosc trade union, argumentation and the fundamentalistic positions [word indistinct] transition from prerogatives to the exigencies of struggle have taken place. This resulted in the (?fact) that since August some 400 thousand people of different milieus and for various reasons have quit the party."

"But the more dangerous process was a decline in the activity off basic-stage (as received] party authorities," he said.

Professor Kubiak next stated that "there is no alternative to socialist Poland, either on the political, or the ideological or economic platform."

Discussing the decisions of the 4th plenum, the CC secretary said, inter (?alia), that they were ushering in a new judgement, namely that "an anarchization of social and political life must be stopped by measures which exist within the frame of Poland's legal system. The plenum convinced us," Professor Kubiak said, "that the party has no other programme but a programme of opening towards the society. It also adopted a new philosophy: Anarchy must be stopped to pave the way for a policy of agreement."

"This is a (?modest) political offer that General Jaruzelski is trying to put into effect by negotiating, among others, with the leaders of the United Peasants' Party, the Democratic Party, the church, the lay Catholic organizations, the representatives of the world of science. Openly, it is a feasible front of agreement and co-operation, and not a facade alternative to the institution of the state."

"There is however no room for illusions about the system's unreformability or for those who think that the only solution lies in a return to (?the situation) from before August 1980. The present situation in our country compels us all to look for what unites us and not what divides us. The party doesn't want to relinquish power, but to broaden the scope of co-participation in exercising it," Professor Kubiak said.

PARTY LEADERS MEET WITH REGIONAL OFFICIALS

Wozniak: Party Militancy

LD231324 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Unfortunately, social tensions are not easing. Various strike and protest actions are continuing. At the start of our program, let us listen to a conversation with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak, after his meeting at the Polkowice copper plant.

[Begin recording] [unidentified correspondent] Political struggle does not consist merely of struggle at the central level on the government-Solidarity National Commission line, but also of grassroots struggle at the workers' level. The workers and even party members at today's meeting are saying that they neither have the proper weapons for that struggle, nor know the proper methods.

[Wozniak] This is put so dramatically that we might as well disband. The matter cannot be put thus. There are very many shortcomings in the political struggle, shortcomings which emerge with our failure, the failure of the party apparatus, to arm party activists in plants, above all at the grassroots. That is true. The weapons include good propaganda, good information and giving all the facts with the proper interpretation. We do not have sufficient technical means; that is not good. But at the same time, it must be said that people are, as they have said [words indistinct] simply lost. The very hard-hitting propaganda by Solidarity -- and I want to say here at the outset that we are not talking about a struggle against Solidarity, but about Solidarity as a trade union, and in this connection we want Solidarity to implement the goals of a trade union and not those that lead to the weakening of the socialist state. [sentence as heard] After all, the creation of a situation of strikes for various reasons at any cost -- for 2 days I have been reviewing the strikes, apart from strikes because of bad supplies, which reflect reality, but the strike itself does nothing to help. [sentence as heard]

For example, today it turns out that the miners lack many technical means, and these means are produced in many plants, many of which are on strike. Apart from food strikes, there are those staged for these reasons: that canteen prices have been changed, that they don't like the director (?because he didn't) keep his word, because he didn't give detergent and so on. We have a terrible facility for striking and there are millions and billions in production losses. We will get nowhere this way and we will lose the last traces of credibility.

But one thing must be said: What we need is increased party militancy. Party members are often not active enough and don't really know if this results from a lack of moral courage or a lack of information. But as for moral courage, we definitely need it because we are fighting for a program of which we do not have to be ashamed and we are fighting more generally for the state, for the nation, that is, in the interest not just of the party but of the entire nation. [end recording]

Olszowski Views Fourth Plenum

LD231250 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Oct (PAP) -- Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Stefan Olszowski has met with the party organization at Ostrowiec Swietokruzyski. Olszowski said that the resolution passed by the 4th CC plenum is in full conformity with the spirit of the 9th PUWP Congress which had mapped out a correct line of action. The plenum corrected implementation of the congress' line, assessed the work of the Political Bureau and took correct decisions aimed at leading the country out of crisis.

"Improvement of market supplies is a priority matter at present, said Olszowski. Resolution of the 4th plenum contains specific tasks in that field. Recently, the union between the town and the countryside has been broken. In the speed with which we can overcome the crisis depends above all on coal. We shall do everything to ensure that coal output goes up year by year, month after month."

"At the root of the crisis, Olszowski stated, lay deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and too rapid industrialization of the country which led to the collapse of the economy. This fact has been exploited by opponents of socialism, who attached themselves to Solidarity at the time the union was formed. It was generally believed that this was going to be solely a trade union. But it did not turn out that way. Joining Solidarity were politicizers, members of the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and Confederation of Independent Poland. Round the union gathered a group of the Polish right-wing which is fighting socialism and is leaning towards the West.

The 4th plenum put forth the conception of inviting the cooperation, within the National Unity Front, of representatives of the church and Solidarity on the basic condition that they recognize the leading role of the party and international alliances, including the alliance with the Soviet Union, the guarantor of our independence.

Stefan Olszowski referred to the recent statement by the Pax association chairman who, in the daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE, spelled out his conception of a coalition government to be created. The secretary of the Central Committee declared that the authority would not agree to that conception.

Speaking of the incidents in Katowice and Wroclaw, Olszowski stated that they were aimed above all against decisions of the 4th plenum. Solidarity wants to bring the country to ruin to be able to grab power more easily. Olszowski asserted: We are fully implementing the line of agreement, but we cannot permit actions openly directed against the state, the party and socialism, as well as against public order. Therefore, the 4th plenum authorized the Political Bureau to turn to the Sejm and the government in case it became necessary to apply appropriate measures to ensure law and order and peace of the citizens.

PRESS CONTINUES REPORTAGE ON FOOD SUPPLIES

AU231801 [Editorial Report] Romanian papers on 21 October carry further articles, reports, interviews and readers' letters on the food situation and the stage of agricultural acitivities at the regional and national level. Noting that "The food situation has improved at all levels" following measures recently taken, SCINTEIA in Romanian devotes its entire page 2 to this subject, citing examples of local self-supply initiatives. The gist of most reports on this page is that the situation can be remedied "by increasing agricultural production", "fully cultivating all available plots" and "intensifying goods exchanges between rural and urban localities." On page 4 the same newspaper carries 3 dispatches from Arad, Timis and Giurgiu counties on the need to "complete corn harvesting by 1 November" and a dispatch from Prahova County on the need "to ensure the necessary winter fodder for livestock". These featuares also focus on shortcomings in this respect, which are mainly blamed on inefficiency, lack of organization and pettiness.

ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian carries on page 2 a report on the findings of a team of working people's controllers at several Bucharest stores where they uncovered various dishonest attitudes on behalf of the sales personnel and customers. Other features on this page urge the peasants "to produce more agricultural products and foodstuffs", even in hilly areas, and to rely less on towns for their supplies, citing the example of Olt County, "where there are 130 bakeries in 5 towns and 96 communes." The same newspaper carries on page 4 a 2,000-word feature on shortcomings in ensuring fodder for livestock in Sibiu and Girugiu counties.

CEAUSESCU VISITS AFUMATI AGRICULTURAL FARM

AU231806 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Summary] President Nicolae Ceausescu this morning visited the Afumati state agricultural enterprise in Ialomita County, where "he discussed with agricultural and machine-building experts new kinds of universal combine-harvesters and sowing machines, which can increase the mechanization of harvesting and improve the system of machines used for such operations". On this visit Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was accompanied by "Gheorghe Oprea; Petru Enache; Nicolai Giosan; Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture and food industry; Angelo Niculescu, chairman of the academy for agricultural and technical sciences; Stelian Teodorescu, deputy minister of machine-building; researchers; designers and other experts in relevant institutes."

In the Afumati cornfields, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was shown three new kinds of corn combine-harvesters at work, including an all-purpose self-propelled combine. The party secretary general asked the experts to continue to improve these machines and to manufacture "an average-capacity universal combine which can be used for harvesting both corn and grain". He also asked the relevant bodies to pay attention to growing high-quality corn hybrids throughout the country, in accordance with specific weather conditions prevailing in each area. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also inspected "a six-row drill which can do stubble sowing, while also fertilizing the soil."

All those present "carefully listened to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations and advice and pledged to efficiently carry out their tasks."

BUCHAREST INTERNATIONAL FAIR 'TIB 81' CLOSES

AU232036 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The Seventh Bucharest International Fair concluded on October 23. Held under the motto: "Trade, Cooperation, Development", this important international technical exhibition Romania initiated 11 years ago gathered for nine days thousands of experts and businessmen from all over the world.

This edition of the TIB was entered, besides Romania, by 44 countries of which 37 had official pavilions. Likewise, more than 1,200 firms from Romania and abroad had individual stands. The experts present at this edition shared the conviction that TIB held a well-defined place among suchlike events in Europe and in the world, proving this way too Romania's wish to contribute to the development of the exchanges of assets among nations, to the achievement of a free and unhampered trade.

The presence of world famous firms, just as the rich display of products that defined the character of the fair made of this event a genuine international competition in point of contemporary technology. An important contribution to the success of this economic confrontation was made by the Romanian offer, most of it made up of new or modernized products, offer that facilitated a broad and productive dialogue between hosts and guests. The negotiations conducted on the occasion materialized in numerous export and import contracts for this year and for 1982, just as for the ensuing year.

Worth mentioning among the contracts concluded by Romanian foreign trade organizations are those regarding the export of road transport means and transport means for building sites to Cuba, Iraq and Italy; tractors of various types and powers to Yugoslavia, Egypt, Greece and Argentina; boilers to the USSR; Aro jeep-type cars to People's China and Colombia; drilling rigs to China; ball-bearings to West Germany; various metallurgical products to West Germany; garments and knitwear to England, Italy, The Netherlands and USA; footwear to USA, West Germany and Syria; and various wood products to Lebanon. Cooperation contracts were also concluded under which Romania is to build an iron-and-steel works in Mozambique, a railway car repairing works in Egypt and deliver a pelletizing installation to India.

As far as imports are concerned noteworthy are contracts regarding the purchase of lorries, machine-tools, spare parts for shipbuilding industry, ball-bearings, chemicals, consumer goods from Czechoslovakia, USSR, GDR, Belgium, England, West Germany etc.

The favorable auspices under which TIB '81 was held, the concrete results scored so far and all events arranged on the occasion, like technical symposia and conferences, demonstrations, opened fresh and broad prospects to the development and expansion of commercial exchanges, to international economic, technical and scientific cooperation, contributed to the strengthening of economic collaboration to the partners' mutual benefit in the spirit of esteem and respect, of understanding and friendship among peoples.

OFFICIALS CELEBRATE ARMY DAY AT BUCHAREST EVENT

AU242050 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 24 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Marking the day of the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, a festive meeting was held in Bucharest on October 24.

Attending were Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Petru Enache, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Lieutenant-General Constantin Olteanu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of national defence, executives of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of central institutions, representatives of public organizations, veterans of the anti-fascist war, generals, officers, master sergeants and N.C.O.'s, working people of Bucharest enterprises, members of Patriotic Guards and of formations training youths for homeland's defence.

Military attaches accredited to Romania also took part.

Lieutenant-General Gheorghe Gomoiu, member of the CC of the RCP, deputy minister of national defence and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the army, spoke about the significance of the event.

USSR VICE PREMIER TALYZIN RECEIVES AVRAM

AU232042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Moscow, 23 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On October 23, Ioan Avram, Romanian minister of the machine-building industry, was received by N.V. Talyzin, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, co-chairman of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Collaboration.

Questions of the further development of the collaboration and cooperation between the two countries in machine-building industry were examined in the spirit of the understanding covenanted at top level.

In Moscow Minister Ioan Avram signed with executives of Soviet ministries sub-programmes regarding the development of specialization of and cooperation in production between Romania and the Soviet Union until 1990 in the following fields: heavy and transport machine building, shipbuilding, manufacture of machines for the chemical and oil industries, of tractors and farm machinery.

The Romanian minister also had talks at the Ministry of Machine-Building for the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry, the Ministry of Machine-Building for the Light and Food Industries and Household Appliances for the Ministry of Fisheries of the USSR.

PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU RECEIVES IMF OFFICIAL

AU232006 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On October 23, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Geofrey Tyler, assistant managing director of the European Department of the International Monetary Fund, now visiting Romania.

Attending the interview was Petre Gigea, minister of finance.

The guest warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the interview granted and expressed his satisfaction at having been received by the Romanian head of state. Likewise, Geofrey Tyler highlighted the very useful character of the contacts he had during his sojourn in Romania and stressed that he was very impressed by the achievements the Romanian people scored in the socioeconomic development of the country.

During the interview, aspects were examined of Romania's collaboration with the International Monetary Fund, positive appreciations being made of the results scored so far, as well of as the fact that possibilities existed of strengthening and expanding this cooperation in the future.

During the talk it was stressed that the measures taken for the implementation of the provisions of Romania's development plan for 1981 and for the ensuing years ensures the growth and modernization of industrial and farm production, the rise in the Romanian people's welfare, the intensification and diversification of Romania's economic exchanges with all the states of the world, the equilibration of the balance of payments.

The important role was highlighted devolving on the International Monetary Fund in solving the economic and financial questions confronting the peoples of the world at present.

Views were also exchanged on the international monetary situation.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

PRESIDENT RECEIVES SWEDISH DEFENSE MINISTER

AU232044 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On Friday, October 23, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Torsten Gustafsson, minister of defence of Sweden, who is paying an official visit to Romania.

Lieutenant-General Constantin Olteanu, Romanian minister of national defense was also present.

The Swedish minister conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a warm message and most cordial wishes on behalf of His Majesty King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia, as well as on behalf of Thorbjorn Faelldin, prime minister of Sweden.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and requested that the Swedish sovereign and Queen Silvia, as well as the Swedish prime minister be conveyed his warm salute and best wishes.

During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the relations of close friendship and collaboration existing between Romania and Sweden and the conviction was expressed that they would expand and consolidate in the future, according to the understandings established during the summit Romanian-Swedish dialogue, for the benefit of both states and peoples, of the cause of peace and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. It was highlighted that the visit of the Swedish minister fell on the line of the good relations established between the two countries and peoples.

Likewise, current aspects were approached of the international life. It was considered that the essential question of ensuring the peace, security and progress of mankind was the passage to effective measures of disarmament, nuclear disarmament first of all, that being the radical way of eliminating the main sources of confrontation and of the danger of war, of freeing peoples from the heavy burden of military expenditures, the fundamental solution of improving the world political climate, or accelerating socioeconomic development, of raising all the nations' welfare. The talks also brought to the fore the special attention Romania and Sweden pay to the achievement of European security and cooperation. In this framework, the need was highlighted to prevent the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe as well as of the neutron warhead. At the same time, it was pointed out that the conclusion with good results of the Madrid meeting -- the adoption of a decision regarding the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe in particular -- would bear positively on the entire world political climate in keeping with the peoples' aspirations after peace, freedom and progress.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

Gustafsson Departs 25 Oct

AU251835 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1645 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The minister of defence of Sweden, Torsten Gustafsson, concluded his official visit to Romania on Sunday. The guest had talks at the Ministry of National Defence, saw round military learning units and institutions, as well as economic units and touristic spots.

On departure, at the Otopeni Airport, the minister of defence of Sweden was seen off by Lieutenant-General Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defence, by the first deputy and deputy ministers of national defence, by generals and officers of the Romanian Army.

REPORTAGE ON CANCUN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Reagan's Speech Reviewed

AU232106 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] President Reagan's recent statements have caused many unpleasant presentiments on the eve of the Cancun international meeting. But as soon as the American delegation had arrived in Mexico to attend that meeting, it became clear that President Reagan was not prepared to assume the responsibility for a failure of the efforts to halt the deterioration of living conditions of a majority of mankind. At their meetings with Lopez Portillo, host of the meeting, Indira Gandhi, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, Sergej Kraigher, president of Yugoslavia's Presidency, and other statesmen, both Secretary Haig and President Reagan himself indicated the readiness of the United States to participate in the UN global talks on the problems of world economic cooperation and development. Our special correspondent Milutin Milenkovic reports on this:

In his 10-minute introductory speech, the President of the most highly developed and wealthiest big power of the contemporary world demonstrated a great effort not to alienate himself from the general recognition of a threatening world crisis and from the contemporary world's acute need to quickly and essentially change the relations between the developed and developing countries. Speaking here in Cancun, President Reagan did not use the same vocabulary and tone as he used in Philadelphia 7 or 8 days ago. Without changing some of his essential theses about the need for every individual country to be primarily responsible for its own development and for solving its own problems and without renouncing his ideological recommendations about the primary importance of private business initiatives in all spheres of internal and international economic life, President Reagan nevertheless moved to meet the demands of a large number of his allies and all the peoples threatened by an increasingly high inflation, economic stagnation, unemployment, shortages and even great hunger.

Thus, immediately at the beginning of his speech, the head of the U.S. delegation emphasized that millions of people look to this meeting with hopes and expectations for help and that therefore urgent joint action is needed to trace the strategic course of global economic development. Ronald Reagan also listed the types of assistance needed by developing countries but he ascribed the excessive debts, excessively high payments for credit loans and the balance of payments deficits of these countries primarily to the rise in oil prices in recent years. On the other hand, speaking on the paths of development of every individual country, President Reagan was less exclusive than 7 days ago. He admitted that the development of every country must reflect its cultural, political and economic heritage. The chief of the U.S. administration also did not dispute the fact that all countries are mutually interdependent because none of them can develop independently from world conditions; however, he stressed that, despite the general interdependence, every country is individually responsible.

In a major part of his speech, President Reagan strived to show how much the United States is helping the developing countries and expressed his astonishment over the fact that, in the period preceding this meeting, a lack of trust in the U.S. administration's readiness to continue to participate in the search for appropriate forms of that assistance and cooperation was apparent throughout the world. After that, he rejected, quite openly but not crudely, the plans for establishing a new international economic system, emphasizing that the existing system serves all of us well and that therefore it should not be destroyed but rather strengthened. Naturally, a majority of the meeting's participants will not agree with this thesis.

What has attracted the greatest attention of the journalistic and diplomatic circles in Cancun is the fact that President Reagan did not reject the idea of global talks and in this connection set out a few conditions for the further preparations for these talks. These conditions will be considered in detail during the debate that is now in progress.

Kraigher Meets Suzuki 23 Oct

LD231920 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Cancun, 23 Oct (TANJUG) -- President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher and Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki had talks here today on questions related the North-South summit agenda and the further development of Yugoslav-Japanese cooperation.

Prime Minister Suzuki underlined the importance Japan attaches to the world role and policy of the Nonaligned Movement.

Since his arrival at Cancun, where he represents Yugoslavia at the international meeting on cooperation and development, Sergej Kraigher has met with several heads of state or government.

On Thursday, Kraigher had talks with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Federal Republic of Germany Vice-Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The talks primarily dealt with substantive questions related to North-South relations.

Kraigher and Reagan also discussed current questions of international relations, particularly in connection with the situations in the Middle East and the south of Africa.

Kraigher Departs 25 Oct

LD251514 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0400 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Sergej Kraigher, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, has left Cancun where he took part in the international meeting on development and cooperation. At Cancun Airport Sergej Kraigher was given a cordial send-off by the president of Mexico, Jose Lopez Portillo. Also present was the Yugoslav ambassador in Mexico, Redzep Suroi. The other members of our delegation, Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Miloja Mastic, foreign political adviser to the president of the Presidency, and Kazimir Vidas, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, also left with the president of the SFRY Presidency.

REPORTAGE ON SITUATION IN POLAND CONTINUES

'New Stage of the Crisis'

LD252030 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] As Zoran Zlatanovic, TANJUG correspondent in Warsaw, reports Poland has entered a new stage of the crisis, one of the gravest and most crucial one so far. There are strikes throughout the country.

[Zlatanovic] Should Poland at this stage not find a solution alone, in the conviction of observers here a solution will then inevitably impose itself. The big question is how influence on the course of events could be exerted, and from where. The political question continues to be problem number one in finding the key to leading the country out of the crisis. Of course, this is not discussed here in an entirely open manner. The way out of the crisis continues to be kept within the framework of economic issues, though it is clear that swords are crossed over political issues and the disagreement on this is precisely that which keeps up the continuous tension in the country.

However, to find such political solutions which would provide full satisfaction is neither simple nor easy.

There are differences on many issues, beginning with the issue of the forms and essence of self-management and ranging to the forms and essence of the system of social power within the framework of this self-management. The consequences of this disagreement are continuous social tension and protests. The party and government continue to try to calm this situation down, but the strikes continue throughout the country.

Ljubljana DELO Comments

AU221649 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Oct 81 p 4

[Marjan Sedmak commentary: "Jaruzelski Facing Difficult Heritage"]

[Text] Considered from the formal viewpoint, Stanislaw Kania's resignation from the post of PZPR first secretary is undoubtedly surprising. The firm game rules which apply to changes of this kind were not followed by the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee at its session Sunday: at least according to the information available so far, the change at the top had not been discussed by the Politburo prior to the plenum session, and the item "organizational questions" was included in the agenda only during the plenum session and that only after the radical differences between the appraisals by the first secretary and the appraisals by numerous participants in the discussion had become obvious.

A dynamic process of this kind is not completely unknown. It asserted itself at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress at which the delegate grassroots strongly influenced the determination of the formal and substantive framework of the congress events. Therefore it is possible to say in this connection that Kania was "a victim" of that process of party democratization which at the Ninth Congress strongly asserted the principle of responsibility of the party leadership to the party grassroots.

However, Kania's resignation appears less unexpected in light of the development of events in the last 100 days since the convening of the ninth congress. Despite all expectations, also after the congress the PZPR continued to hesitate in tackling the task of defining the program directives that would clearly and sufficiently tangibly show a way out of the Polish social and economic crisis. This situation caused an increasingly great confusion in two important sectors of the Polish social scene. One of these sectors is the party ranks among which, as a result of the absence of specific party decisions, contradictions between various currents and especially contradictions between the dogmatic and the reform-minded wings continued. And in this connection it was the basic aktivist cadres that found themselves in the worst position, the cadres who on the very ground floor of the country's political life did not know how to answer the increasingly demanding questions of life and the workers class (many members of the Central Committee at the plenum spoke on the dilema of the aktivists). And on the other hand, the lack of tangible program decisions strengthened those currents and minicurrents within the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity which built their political action on the claim that the party faces a crisis and is powerless, and which continued to push Solidarity along this path into the role of an alternative in the struggle for power. In this respect the Solidarity congress was certainly very instructive: the party undoubtedly must bear a large share of responsibility for that course of the congress, the party that did not know how to take advantage of the start given to it by the ninth congress, that did not know how to assert its leading role in shaping program orientations and that therefore did not know how to draw the workers class and the trade unions into adopting specific orientations in favor of specific reform decisions.

A polarization of social forces was one again the consequence of this development, and the consequence of that polarization is the fact that was most graphically defined in a rhetorical question by one of the participants in the discussion at the plenum: how is it possible that the policy of social agreements has degenerated into a policy of social disagreements?

The discussion at the plenum negated Kania's attempts to direct the plenum to a discussion about the responsibility of the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity for the existing situation, and instead pushed to the foreground the question of the responsibility of the party and its leadership. The political significance of that discussion is not singular because Kania was critized (at voivodship meetings in Warsaw, Gdansk and elsewhere, also prior to the plenum) by representatives of various trends within the party. His political position was made more difficult also because of an increasingly openly expressed vote of no confidence coming from Moscow during the last month.

This then is the heritage that Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski is now taking over. No one has expressed any doubts about his loyalty to the policy of renewal and social agreements so far. The discussion at the Forth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee also rejected Kania's efforts to seek a way out of a deadlock in a global confrontation with the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity (we do not struggle against but rather for Solidarity members, one of the participants in the discussion said), and in compelling the party members to decide in favor of or against the new trade unions. Within this general framework of social agreements, Jaruzelski will face -- sooner or later -- the difficult task of presenting to the country a constructive program of specific decisions, initiate the social orientation in relation to these decisions, and finally open the door to the social dialogue that has been announced for such a long time. Of course, it is not excluded in this connection that he might be compelled to use more resolute administrative measures: in the political field wherever the social dialectic might exceed the limits set by the Polish constitution and laws (antisocialist, anti-Soviet and other similar superfluous excesses) and in the economic field wherever the increasingly grave economic crisis might threaten the very existence of the state (temporary bans on strikes, extension of the work week). Regardless of any such decisions, as early as a month ago in the parliament, Jaruzelski declared himself in favor of solving the crisis by a "patriotic front of agreement," that is, by social accords on the basis of cooperation of all social forces that recognize the Polish party's responsibility for the fate of the country, the socialist social system in Poland and, naturally, the Polish international alliances.

MINIC MEETS WITH STATE DEPARTMENT'S EAGLEBURGER

LD241134 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG) -- Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, received today Lawrence Eagleburger, assistant secretary in the State Department. In the talks on the occasion an exchange of views was held on several most topical international issues. Minic and Eagleburger dealt in particular with problems linked with European security and cooperation. The development of bilateral relations between the two countries was also discussed.

U.S. BUSINESSMEN, JOURNALISTS VISIT; TALKS HELD

Djuranovic Meets Businessmen

LD231828 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, received a group of American businessmen today. These businessmen are directors of the largest American firms and companies. They are on a fact-finding trip to acquaint themselves with the social, political and economic system in Yugoslavia in order to better examine the conditions for the further development of economic cooperation between the two countries.

The president of the Federal Executive Council briefed the American businessmen on the basic characteristics of the socio-political and economic life of the country in the present stage of our development. He stressed the continuity and consistency in strengthening and further developing the system of socialist self-management domestically, and the policy of independence and nonalignment in foreign policy.

Speaking about the present development of our society, the president of the Federal Executive Council stressed the dynamic rate of economic growth which Yugoslavia has achieved in the past period as well as the significant results achieved in the development of material forces and economic potential. In this connection he also presented our current problems which are the results of such a dynamic development as well as of unfavorable trends in the world economy. In this connection, the president of the Federal Executive Council pointed out the efforts made by all factors in the process of economic stabilization which now represents the main task which our society as a whole faces.

In making a positive assessment of the development of friendly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States and noting the existence of readiness and interest on both sides to have these relations and cooperation develop, the president of the Federal Executive Council stressed the favorable possibilities and the orientation toward the development of higher forms of economic cooperation, such as joint investments and cooperation in production.

The U.S. businessmen were particularly interested in the way economic stabilization will influence these forms of bilateral co-operation. In view of the fact that one of the key components of the stabilization program is the orientation toward exports, it was assessed that joint investments and cooperation in production could develop favorably in all branches of our industry which are export orientated.

The president of the Federal Executive Council also replied to many questions asked by the American businessmen who were particularly interested in the practical functioning and the development of the self-management system and in the Yugoslav experiences in this sphere, in our assessment of international economic relations and in the state and activity in the policy and movement of nonalignment.

The talks with prominent U.S. businessmen, in which David Anderson, the U.S. ambassador to the SFRY also participated, took place in a sincere and constructive atmosphere. These talks represent a contribution to even better mutual understanding and to the examination of possibilities for the development of bilateral economic cooperation.

Talks With Grlickov

LD241243 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG) -- Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks today with a group of prominent American businessmen and journalists who are visiting Yugoslavia sponsored by the American periodical, TIME. During the friendly talks they dealt with the bilateral relations, topical international issues and the economic situation in the world and in Yugoslavia.

Stambolic Meets Businessmen

LD251100 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- Petar Stambolic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, had talks today with a group of prominent American businessmen and journalists who are on a visit to Yugoslavia sponsored by the periodical, TIME.

In very open and lively talks, the American businessmen displayed an interest in the basic activities of our country in the economic, internal political and international sphere.

Briefing his guests on these issues, Petar Stambolic stressed that Yugoslavia adheres firmly to Tito's course of safeguarding its full independence and nonalignment in foreign policy as well as of developing the self-managing socialist system and full equality of nations and nationalities in domestic policy. He also pointed out that continuity of this policy by Tito, set in train as far back as the national liberation struggle, and then stressed:

This does not represent merely the safeguarding of the constitutional order or of Tito's heritage; such a policy is the only alternative for Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities. This policy ensures the independence of each and every people and of its comprehensive development. Such a policy is also part and parcel of the interests of all strata of our society. This is the reason for our serenity because at the social grass roots there are no foundations for a different kind of policy.

Our worker has borne the greatest burden of our country's speedy economic development. Today, too, he bears the burden of the stablization. The majority of the working class has also been formed from the village population; at the end of the war we had less than a million workers and today there are nearly 6 million.

By going to the towns from the villages they have arrived at a higher level of work productivity and thus also at a higher income. Another important factor is that in our system the worker alone makes decisions on the conditions of his life and work. This is essential, Stambolic stressed. Self-management is a process which we have been building for 30 years already. The worker has not yet fully become the master of surplus value, of profit, but he makes more and more decisions. This is the essence of building self-managing socialism. Therefore, if we make a mistake or if in something which we have laid down as our goal we don't quite succeed the workers have the opportunity to exert their influence, they have no other better policy. Therefore, self-management is the element of our political stability, Stambolic stressed.

The vice president of the SFRY Presidency also spoke about the development of our society so far, in particular of its present stage, and in this context he stressed:

Our basic preoccupations today are with economic difficulties; the high rate of inflation and the relatively high level of foreign debts. We are taking serious measures to ensure the stability of our economy in the next few years. What is characteristic of our development is that in three and a half decades we have experienced such difficulties in cycles. In our assessment, this is the result of a very speedy development. In the past 35 years we have been among the top four countries in the world in the pace of our development of material forces.

This is not the only explanation of our difficulties, Stambolic added. The present difficulties have their own specific features: the prices of energy, of raw materials, of equipment, of capital in the world have increased. These are difficulties experienced by the whole world. We bear them with greater difficulty because we do not belong to the world of developed countries. We are buying equipment and raw materials and energy and are borrowing capital. But, Stambolic went on, we are resolved to overcome these difficulties through our own efforts. It goes without saying that if friends abroad come to our aid it will be easier for us to overcome them. Our people will suffer less deprivation. I would not like to miss this opportunity of saying, he added, that we have always come out of the difficulties which we have experienced doubly strengthened: in the material sense we have gone forward and we have quickly altered the technological base of our economy. We are capable of keeping pace with the scientific-technological revolution. We have both specialized and scientific cadres. As regards the range of consumer goods, we are not lagging behind the world by a single year.

We have always come out of such difficulties by further developing our system of self-management. There are no visible reasons to indicate the opposite -- that we shall not come out of these difficulties strengthened both in the material and social sense, Stambolic stressed.

He went on to stress that our second preoccupation in the domestic sphere is the further development of equitable relations among nations under conditions of decentralization, greater responsibility by republic and provinces, along with simultaneous economic development as a whole.

In our policy we proceed from the premise of liberating the economy from the state hypertrophied intervention which manifests itself as a brake on development and which does not favor self-management, Stambolic said. By preserving the existing constitutional rights of the republics and provinces we are trying to rid ourselves of those mechanisms in the economic system which restrict the unity of the Yugoslav market and its efficiency. We have no intention of returning to the centralist system, he stressed. This is a question of the existence of our country as a multinational community. The agreement-reaching process, true enough, is proceeding only slowly but we shall not replace it by centralism. On the other hand, all possibilities and interests exist for the integration of the economy. This process has been set in train and in its broader sense it is part of the world process of economic integration. This is the system on which new Yugoslavia constitutes itself, Stambolic said at the end of this part of his speech.

He then spoke of the Yugoslav views on current international issues. In this context he stressed our country's great concern about the international situation, the growing crisis of detente coupled with the simultaneously accelerated arms race.

Since the war the world has experienced several, similar critical phases, Stambolic said, but in our view this is the most dangerous situation which the world has experienced since World War II. In such existing difficult international conditions, in our view, the concept is being confirmed that general peace cannot be preserved if it is not at the same time also a special peace, and this means the abolition of all crisis hotbeds in the world. We also believe that global peace established between great powers and groupings does not offer the world any perspectives unless it also brings equitable peace to every country and every nation individually. Global bloc equilibrium, as the practice so far has shown, has come into conflict with the special aspirations of people of individual countries for autonomy, authentic expression of their national interest and equality.

When we, as a nonaligned country, Stambolic said, advocate universal detente as the most efficient means of ensuring world peace we do not in any way underrate the role and responsibility of great powers for renewing detente and safeguarding world peace. We believe, therefore, that great powers should extend the talks started, and if necessary, set new ones in train with the aim of renewing detente, with the aim of renewing the mechanism of international relations, with the aim of avoiding a world catastrophe. The crisis of detente has not bypassed the Nonaligned Movement either; this movement has also come into conflict with its own contradictions. We see it strengthening only along the course of the further democratization of its internal relations, of great tolerance of objective contradictions which exist and of implementation of the political action unity in all aspects of the struggle for peace, equitable international relations and for the new international economic order, Stambolic said.

In this connection, Stambolic stressed that consistent with its independent and nonaligned policy, Yugoslavia maintains today good relations with nearly all countries of the world, including the greatest, such as the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

The group of American businessmen includes the top officials of 31 large American corporations, among them, Ford, Firestone, Westinghouse, Intercontinental, Philip Morris and others.

GRLICKOV HOLDS TALKS WITH SYRIAN BA'TH LEADER

AU221653 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- Yesterday Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held talks with Fadil al-'Ansari, member of the National Command of the Syrian Ba'th Party. In a short friendly conversation, they discussed cooperation between the LCY and the Ba'th Party which is successfully developing, as was mutually noted. Grlickov and Al-'Ansari also exchanged views on current trends in the Middle East and other international issues.

CHINESE PARTY STUDY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU221651 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 81 p 11

[Text] A CCP study delegation that visited Yugoslavia within the framework of the program of cooperation between the LCY and the CCP has left Belgrade for Beijing. The delegation was headed by Wang Huangyi, member of the CCP Central Committee and secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee.

COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS WITH SWEDISH PARTY CHAIRMAN

LD241255 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 24 Oct 81

["Joint Communique on Dragosavac-Werner Talks" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG) -- Lars Werner, chairman of the Swedish Communist Left Party [VPK], visited Yugoslavia 20-24 October 1981 at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Dr Dusan Dragosavac, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Lars Werner, VPK chairman, held exhaustive talks in an atmosphere of friendship, openness and full mutual understanding which characterizes relations between the LCY and the VPK. The talks were attended by Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and on the part of the VPK by Bo Hammar, secretary for international relations of the VPK Political Bureau. Information was exchanged during the talks on internal political and international activities of the LCY and the VPK, the situation in the world, developments in the workers' and communist movement and prospects for the further development of cooperation between the LCY and the VPK. The exchange of views confirmed the identity or great similarity of views on all the issues under consideration.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that relations between the LCY and the VPK are developing successfully, and they expressed their readiness to intensify still further the development of ties and exchange of views and experience concerning both the sphere of internal political activity and the issues of international relations and developments in the communist, workers' and other progressive movements in the world. They expressed the view that cooperation between the two friendly countries of Yugoslavia and Sweden.

They expressed great concern at the highly exacerbated international situation. They found that detente is in a state of grave crisis, that numerous negative trends are manifesting themselves in international relations, that the arms race is gaining fresh momentum, that the old sources of crises have not been eliminated and new ones have emerged, and that the economic position of developing countries continues to deteriorate. All this constitutes a serious threat to peace and security in the world and is threatening to cause fresh upheavals and conflicts.

They concluded that in conditions like these it is exceptionally important that all the progressive and democratic forces should step up their efforts in the struggle for the development of democratic international political and economic relations, for the just settling of the problems causing tension, and to ensure lasting peace.

They laid particular stress on the need for constant efforts to reaffirm and spread the policy and process of the relaxation of international tension and to strengthen international trust.

Stress was laid on the readiness of the LCY and the VPK to step up their efforts, in cooperation with all the progress and democratic forces of the world, to halt unfavorable international developments, halt the arms race and bring about disarmament. The two sides expressed unanimity on the need to establish the new international economic movement as a significant factor for the preservation of peace in the world.

Attention was drawn to the significance of the role played by the Nonaligned Movement as an independent nonbloc factor in the struggle for the preservation of peace and democratization of international economic and political relations, settling of international problems, and social progress. Stress was placed at the same time on the role which could be played in the struggle for peace by other democratic forces of Europe and the world.

The LCY and the VPK confirmed that they agree on the need to base cooperation between communist and workers' parties on full respect for the principles of independence, equality and noninterference. They stressed that every party is responsible to its own working class and people and enjoys the inalienable right to make a free and independent choice of the manner of struggle for social progress and socialism. In this connection they stressed the great significance of the consistent adherence to the principles formulated in the document of the Berlin conference of the communist parties of Europe in relations between the communist parties and all progressive and democratic forces.

TEN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS ABROAD TO BE CLOSED

LD231830 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Federal Executive Council has decided to temporarily close 10 Yugoslav diplomatic-consular missions abroad and to reduce the number of employees in seven of our missions abroad. This measure should lead to greater rationalization of diplomatic missions abroad and to [word indistinct] saving of resources, which is in line with the stabilization policy. The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs will take steps to prevent this decision from exerting a negative influence on the further development of relations and cooperation between our country and the countries in which diplomatic consular missions will temporarily be closed.

KOSOVO JOINT SESSION DISCUSSES EMIGRATION

LD241826 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 23 Oct 81

[Text] Pristina, 23 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance and the Presidium of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo determined at their joint session today the tasks of the organized socialist forces in the province to prevent the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

The basis assessment of today's debate on one of the most delicate problems of the present political situation in Kosovo is that the enemy and counterrevolutionary activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism have not only left deep traces in intranational relations but have also exerted an influence on the intensified emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. Though this was also a characteristic of earlier periods, the intensified emigration of Serbs and Montenengrins for both economic and social reasons as well as on account of individual perssures exerted by the enemy in some environments is a consequence of the general political climate which has been created, and to halt it is necessary not merely energetically to oppose all forms of pressures and to elminate deviationist social phenomena but also to create a climate of security and prospects for all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

Speaking about all the social activity to date in the province concerned with establishing the causes of the emigration of Serbs and Montengrins, Musa Beka, member of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance, stressed in his introductory speech that the question of halting this phenomenon is increasingly becoming the preoccupation and significant political task of the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions and their forms of activity. He added, however, that in a number of municipalities and in some environments this activity is progressing only slowly and that there is evidence of a formalistic approach. The idea, Beka stressed, that the question of the emigration of Serbs and Montengrins is imposed and invented, that there are not and have never been any kind of pressures and that emigration is due to economic and other conditions of life is as unacceptable as the concept that all emigration earlier and now are exclusively the consequence of pressures. In addition to emigration for the reasons mentioned, the analyses so far have shown that the phenomena of various kinds of pressures have been the inconsistent implementation of the policy of employment, education, school grants, participation in cultural and entertainment activities, the allocation of apartments, usurpation [as received], damage in the fields, the cutting down of orchards, the burning of property and the desecration of monuments and also violent behavior in streets and in buses, anonymous threats and so forth. All this has caused and causes uncertainty and lack of prospects and exerts an influence on emigration from Kosovo.

Musa Beka stressed that through coordinated action by all organized forces the real political assessment of every phenomenon of emigration in every environment must be established and that one should oppose and fight most decisively and most energetically against all forms of manipulation in intranational relations, against every kind of one-sideness and deviation in the implementation of the policy as a whole and that by efficient political and legislative measures every attempt at direct or indirect threats, pressures, alarm, offense and creatings of any form of insecurity for citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities should be combated. Decisive opposition, condemnation and unmasking of every form of enemy acitivity and of its propaganda will also be an essential contribution to the further stabilization of the political situation and the strengthening of the safety and security of people and in this way conditons will be created to halt the tendencies of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. Members of the socialist alliance and of the trade unions who are of Albanian nationality have a special role and obligation in this struggle, because this is both a duty and an obligation to the gains of the national liberation struggle and the socialist revolution, Musa Beka said.

In the broad and comprehensive debate at today's session, most speakers also pointed to the political, economic and other consequences of emigration from Kosovo and they insisted that a full political assessment of this complex phenomenon be established. Ismailj Mikuldvci stressed that the economic and social situation burdens not only the Serbs and Montenegrins but also the Albanian nationality and everybody else in Kosovo, while Danild Vasic proposed that one should talk openly about the cases of emigration due to the pressures in order that the people might draw courage from the presentation and elimination of those pressures.

Jorgovanka Milojevic stressed that the problem of emigration has existed for some time and that it is the consequence of a policy over a longer period, which failed to make timely assessments and responses. Even now, in some evironments, there is no correct approach to this problem, she said, adding that no single cause which contributes to the emigration and departure of the badly needed experts, who usually take with them members of their wider families and friends, should be underestimated.

Bedzet Zeciri advocated a true political assessment on the emigration in every environment as well as a rigorous elimination of all anomalies which accelerate emigration.

Stressing that every honest person in Kosovo should be worried about such a pronounced problem of emigration, Rabit Redzepi observed that one of the basic causes of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is the sense of insecurity and hopelessness which is potentially present following the enemy demonstrations in 1968 and this year. Redzepi stressed in particular the responsiblity of Albanians to create the feeling of security but he also advocated that those who exert pressure should be named.

Hisan Prekasi said that the real truth about the problem of emigration should be arrived at and that this truth should be told, regardless of how unpleasant it might be. We stressed that the emigration tendency is one of the basic barometers of the political situation in the province.

Taking part in the discussion, Azem Vlasi, president of the Provincial Conference of the Socialist Alliance, stressed first that the tendency of emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins could lead to major political, economic, psychological and other consequences, not only in the imediate future, and also to the great damage to the coming generations. What is at stake, Vlasi said, is a phenomenon which is the consequence of the situation created. This situation has given rise to activity by nationalists. In fact, nationalism is always directed at exerting pressure on member of another nation. It has "sharp horns" and does not tolerate others but aims at closing itself within its own shell and always puts pressure on other nationalities. This is the fact from which we should proceed when we are assessing the phenomenon of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, Vlasi said. We must deal with all individual cases of pressure, but even more we must contribute through political action to the stabliization of the situation in general and of the climate in which people will feel secure and in peace. We must reject one-sided approaches to the question, whether there are pressures or not. Wherever nationalism was escalated there are always pressures of various kinds. If enemies have set fire to somebody's haystack they have not only exerted pressure on the person concerned, but this pressure and insecurity is felt in the entire environment.

Azem Vlasi advocated in particular the creation of a climate of trust and security in which every threatened Serb or Montenegrin will receive assistance and protection primarily from his neighbor, the Albanian. We must prove through political action that pressures on Serbs and Montnegrins are exerted by Albanian nationalists and not by the Albanian nationality.

However, the progressive forces of the Albanian nationality cannot carry out their duty toward this issue only by dissociating themselves from the scum of their nation, but should also exert a decisive influence in the struggle against all pressures, because all nationalistic attacks leave dark spots in the history of every people while history has no service from people who dissociate themselves from their renegades but from the extent to which those people have fought against reaction, Vlasi said, adding that in every environment there must be preventive activity which must prove to people that the aim of Enver Hoxha's nationalistic strategy is the creation of an ethnically pure Kosovo. If we do not understand this then we have failed our test, Vlasi said and went on to say that every honest Albanian need not fear labeling by nationalists but that in the struggle against his own nationalism and irredentism he must proceed primarily from the communist conviction and the fundamental interests of all our nations and nationalities on the need for living together.

Aleksandar Peric said that there exist commissions whose duty it is to examine the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins in municipalities. These commissions do not work well but have an irresponsible attitude toward this important task. Some of them say that there are no cases of emigration due to pressure while in fact there are such cases -- and very drastic ones at that. Anonymous letters are even sent to individuals and leaders in which they are told a deadline by which they should emigrate.

Taking part in the debate, Kolj Siroka, president of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of SAWPY, stressed that such a debate should have been set in train earlier in order that the struggle against the enemy could have been undertaken in good time. Our basic aim, Siroka said, is to involve the broadest possible number of citizens in this struggle. The working class and all working people should participate in the struggle against the counterrevolution, because this is a class struggle.

We must be conscious of the fact that the greatest force which can successfully defend the revolution is the working class and its vanguard -- the League of Communists.

He who attacks members of the Serbian or Montenegrin nationality, attacks above all his own people, Siroka stressed, and went on to add that the aim of a people's renegades is to live at somebody else's expense and that these renegades are the greatest burden precisely to their own people. We are now on the offensive and we should open up even more the broad front of the struggle against the enemy, to defeat it at every step.

We must oppose its intentions to sow fear, mistrust and misinformation. We must create conditions for full security and safety of everybody living on Kosovo's soil, Siroka said.

Following the debate, conclusions were adopted which stress that in every village and in every work organization one should talk openly and in a communist manner with those who might possibly intend to emigrate. One should explain the political consequences of such a step and point out the need for joint struggle against the enemy.

The Presidium of the Provinvial Conference of the Socialist Alliance and the Presidium of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo charge all municipal and local organizations to the Socialist Alliance and all trade union organizations to determine, by proceeding from the topical program of the Kosovo League of Communists, their own tasks and take all necessary measures to prevent the emigration and to ensure the stabilization of the political situation in the province.

SERBIAN ASSEMBLY DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR USSR

LD251808 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 25 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG) -- President of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Dusan Ckrebic heading a five-member delegation, left for a visit to Moscow today at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

In Moscow, Ckrebic and his hosts will discuss promotion of cooperation between the two republics within the framework of the constant strengthening of allround Yugoslav-Soviet relations.

BRIEFS

TANJUG CROATIA EDITOR -- Zagreb, 21 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Croat SAWP Republican Conference Presidium today agreed with the decision of the Workers' Council of the TANJUG News Agency to elect Mirko Bolfek as executive editor of TANJUG's editorial office in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Mirko Bolfek is a prominent sociopolitical worker and journalist. He was editor-in-chief of the Zagreb television information and document program and is taking up his new post after a 4-year spell as TANJUG's correspondent in Brussels. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 81 LD]